AN AMERICAN TOWN

A Sociological Study

BY

JAMES M. WILLIAMS, A. B., B. D.

SOMETIME FELLOW IN SOCIOLOGY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE
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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE.

It has occurred to many of us that the great pity is, not that we are so ignorant of cosmic forces, but that we know so many things that are not so—particularly, disagreeable things about each other. The study of society reveals nothing more clearly than that a fundamental impulse of human nature is the combative or dominating impulse. Out of it springs avarice, prejudice and all kindred evils. This little study of Blanktown has been made with the hope that it may make people more thoughtful and generous in their attitude to one another by making them more intelligent. The purpose of sociology is a very practical one. It is to encourage not sympathy merely, but a manly and womanly regard for each others' interests, arising out of a due sense of the worth of each others' goodwill. This has nowhere been more perfectly expressed than in the words of Abraham Lincoln, uttered when he was a young man, twenty-three years of age: "Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be so or not, I can say for one that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow men by rendering myself worthy of their esteem."[1]

The study of human motives is, however, by no means a simple matter. The author does not concur in the popular notion that while other sciences may be permitted the use of expressions and methods which bewilder the uninitiated, yet sociology should speak so plainly that a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein. All serious students of sociology have found that, far from being free from the technicalities which make other sciences difficult, sociology is the most complicated of all the sciences. Accordingly, we must refuse at the outset to simplify matters at the expense of truthfulness.

For several years the author lived among the people of Blanktown and came to know all of them casually, many of

[1] Hapgood, "Abraham Lincoln." New York, 1903. Page 30.

them intimately, while some of them are his closest friends. Whatever is said in the following pages, therefore, about their thought and activity may be said about his own, for he lived with them as a fellow-townsman, as in every sense one of them, sharing their work and pleasure. Many of the people of the town assisted directly, and all of them indirectly, in the preparation of the present monograph. Some of them would be pleased with some of the conclusions reached, but none of them with all. Fully sensible of his obligations, therefore, the author has taken such means as may assure his friends that their affairs are not being paraded before the public in what may seen to them an unfavorable light. All significant proper names have been eliminated from the text so that it will be found practically impossible to identify our town. This does not detract from the scientific value of the work any more than the extinction of a people would detract from the value of a study of them made while they still existed.

It may occur to the reader to ask in how far the stages of the social evolution of Blanktown are true for other communities. Judging from some studies of western communities made by the author, it would seem that those towns are now going through the same stages of development as Blanktown earlier exhibited. So far as known, other eastern towns do not controvert the conclusions reached for Blanktown, so that the Blanktownsman may declare that his town "will compare favorably with any other town of its size in the state" without fear of being humbled in his local pride.

In conclusion, acknowledgments are due, first, to the many people of Blanktown who helped me; secondly, to Professor Franklin H. Giddings, who started me in the good way and whose counsel and encouragement have been invaluable; thirdly, to Chancellor E. Benjamin Andrews, to whom I owe my original interest in sociology; and finally to my sister, E. Amelia Williams, instructor in Vassar College, who, with her high ideals of true culture, has been my constant inspiration.

J. M. W.

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INTRODUCTION.

Some years ago the author began a special study of an Eastern town with the purpose, not of narrating events, but of analyzing the social forces involved in the several phases of a remarkable social development. This study has been carried on along the following lines:

1. From written sources and personal testimony, historical facts have been collected and classified.

2. Typical individuals of the population have been studied as survivals of previous stages of culture, their words and activities thus throwing light on historical facts otherwise obscure and perplexing.

3. Present events and customs have been used in a comparative way to elucidate historical events and customs otherwise only obscurely understood in the dim light of a scanty record or uncertain personal testimony. The purpose has been to probe beneath the historical facts and to lay bare the motives which gave rise to them.

The results of the study will be given in two volumes. The subject matter does not logically facilitate such a division nor is it likely that further observation will leave unmodified the conclusions thus far attained. The necessity of fulfilling certain academic requirements, has, however, compelled the immediate publication of the present volume.

The name of the town we are to study is withheld, as are the names of villages and hamlets and of surrounding towns. We shall refer to our town as Blanktown, to its chief village as Blankville and to its two hamlets as Blankwell and The Center, the latter being the local, not the civil, name of that hamlet. The school districts of the town, as represented on Map II, are designated by the first letter of the name by which they are locally known.

Early in the work an important fact became evident, and acted as an incentive to further study, namely, that a small community, sufficiently remote to render visits to and communication with the outside world infrequent, is a most promising field for the study of social forces. The inhabitants of such a community give rein to their impulses through a few strong habitual reactions instead of through many imitative reactions which are with difficulty traced to their root in one and the same impulse. Frazer has shown this to be true in his study of the religious instinct. As he writes in his preface to the Golden Bough, of the primitive Aryan, so we may say of the early Blanktownsman: "He is amongst us to-day. The great intellectual and moral forces which have revolutionized the educated world have scarcely affected the peasant. In his inmost beliefs, he is what his forefathers were." It is through a study of such surviving members of past stages of culture that the documentary and archeological remains of those periods are to be interpreted.

This view that man is what his forefathers were has been elaborated into a philosophy of history. Gumplowicz writes: "Der Intellekt des Menschen ist immer derselbe. . . . Ein scheinbarer Fortschritt aber entsteht dadurch, dass örtlich und zeitlich der gleiche Intellekt auf einer Summe von Errungenschaften seiner Vorgänger fusst and dieselben als Ausgangspunkte weiterer Errungenschaften benützt. So arbeiten spätere Generationen nicht etwa mit höheren. . . . Intellekten, sondern nur mit grösseren . . . Mitteln, . . . Ein findiger Greiche . . . würde wenn er der Nachfolger Watts wäre, die Lokomotive auch erfunden haben—und wenn er die Einrichtung des elektrischen Telegraphen kennen würde, könnte er gewiss auf den Einfall kommen, ein Telephon zu konstruieren."[1] Gümplowicz maintains that the factors of social evolution are the formal ideas of individuals, the traditions of races which, in the "Rassenkampf," unite to form the new ideas of a progressive civilization. Le Bon, on

[1] "Grundriss der Soziologie." Wein, 1905. Page 353.

the other hand, emphasizes the influence of creative and inventive genius: "La volonté persistante qu'ils (meneurs) possèdent est une faculté infiniment rare et infiniment forte qui fait tout plier . . . rien ne lui résiste, ni la nature, ni les dieux, ni les hommes. . . . Le livre qui raconterait la vie de tous ces grands meneurs ne contiendrait pas beaucoup de noms; mais ces noms ont été à la tête des événements les plus importants de la civilization."[1]

Obviously, the questions raised by these writers never can be solved by historical study. They involve a thorough study of the individual in his or her relation to the total environment, that is, of the individual in the family life, at work, and in the larger social relations. This can be done only by a monographic study of particular families, neighborhoods, villages and towns. After such studies have been carried on through a long period, we may have data for comparative studies which will throw light on the problem of social evolution. To begin with, therefore, we must shake off the deductive habit. In raising a great question like the above with its solution at present impossible, those authors may be excused for relying upon deduction. But for the use of deduction on problems inductively solvable, there is no excuse. To one who has spent three years among the people of rural communities with no other business and no other purpose than to know them, the lugging in of principles from other sciences—natural selection, for instance—to explain sociological facts seems little short of ridiculous, and some of the deductions, to quote Alfred Russell Wallace, "detestable."[2] There will be no such thing as sociology until we have begun at the A, B, C of method—observation.

Sociologists have been coming to this. Tarde suggests the need of it[3] and Professor Franklin H. Giddings has worked out, in great detail, a scheme of inductive study.[4] Arguments

[1] "Psychologie des Foules." Paris, 1896. Page 110.
[2] "Studies Scientific and Social." Vol. I, page 515.
[3] "Social Laws." New York, 1899. Page 198.
[4] "Inductive Sociology." New York, 1901.

are not wanting, however, to prove that, for sociology, there is a short cut to scientific knowledge. Thus, Durkheim: "Il peut sembler, au premier abord, qu'il n'y ait pas d'autre manière de procéder que d'etudier chaque société en particulier, d'en faire une monographie aussi exacte et aussi complète que possible, puis de comparer toutes ces monographies . . . . cette méthode . . . . seule est recevable dans une science d'observation. . . . .

"Cependant, sans entrer très avant dans l'ètude des faits, il n'est pas difficile de conjecturer de quel côté il faut chercher les propriétés caractéristiques des types sociaux. Nous savons, en effet, que les sociétés sont composées de parties ajoutées les unes aux autres. Puisque la nature de toute résultante dépend necessairement de la nature, du nombre des éléments composants et de leur mode de combinaison, ces caractères sont évidemment ceux que nous devons prendre pour base. . ."[1] Those who find that such reasoning throws light on the problem of method take a very different view of the subject from that of the author of this monograph.

What sociology most needs is *field-work*. The statistical method can not get far unless used by the skillful *field-worker*. An eminent statistician has pointed out that as great a statistical work as Levasseur's "La Population Francaise" fails to throw much light on fundamental sociological problems,[2] whereas a perusal of the works of the critic himself will show them to be scarcely more illuminating at this crucial point,[3]—leading us to suspect that the statistician is doing the best he can with his scanty data. What we need is statistical data furnished by many skillful field workers.

Sociological method, therefore, is severely intensive and broadly extensive. The study of our little town seems insignificant enough; and, when we note the universal distrust of

[1] "Les Regles de La Methode Sociologique." Paris, 1904. Pages 97-100.

[2] R. Mayo-Smith, Levasseur's "La Population Francaise." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, No. 1.

[3] R. Mayo-Smith, "Statistics and Sociology." New York, 1896.

the inductive method for sociology and reflect upon the great difference of opinion as to how to begin, among those few bold thinkers who advocate induction, the task seems hopeless. But the fact of "Our Need of It" remains. The rural districts have not yet been heard from on "frenzied finance," but they are smouldering over it, and the sooner sociology becomes able to speak positively and convincingly to the popular mind, the less will be the danger of the moral chaos in high places spreading throughout the masses. This would mean a mighty appeal to the power of the state on the part of the great, economically unorganized, rural population of our country, a struggle for socialism such as we have never dreamed of, with all the danger this implies to our republican institutions. The thing for us to do then, is to go into the field and set to work. Let us have studies of strategic communities from all parts of the country which will open up problems for discussion and eventually give us data for a sociology which ministers can preach, teachers teach, and the people talk about and believe in.

Part I

The Social Development of Blanktown from Its Settlement up to 1875.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOURCES.

The sources for the study of the social evolution of Blanktown are, first, the records, documents and personal testimony from which the history of the town may be formulated, and, secondly, those individuals from a study of whose conversation and conduct the social forces underlying the history of the town are to be understood. The written sources are as follows:

I. For the situation and aggregation of the social population as given in Map II:

1845: 1. The census returns of Blanktown for the state census of 1845.

2. The assessment roll of Blanktown for 1845.

3. The testimony of several old residents which has made it possible to fix, with certainty, the location of about ninety-five per cent, and, with probability, that of the remaining five per cent, of the families recorded in the assessment roll and the census records.

1875: An atlas published by D. G. Beers & Company, Philadelphia, 1874, containing a map of Blanktown, which indicates the location of the homesteads of the town in 1874. This, with the testimony of old residents, has made it possible to fix the location of the families recorded in the assessment roll of 1874, as well as of most of those families not owning taxable property.

1900: A census of Blanktown taken by the author in June, 1900.

For the earlier periods there are also minor sources, such as epitaphs on tombstones, poll-lists and records of church membership.

II. Other written sources are:

1. Pamphlets and documents of the late A—— O——, who resided in Blankville during his entire life (1809-1891), and devoted a large part of his time to scientific pursuits. He was a member of various national societies for scientific research.

2. Town-meeting records for 1796-1900.

3. Records of the Board of Trustees of Blankville for 1873-1900.

4. Files of the Blanktown *Intelligencer,* a weekly paper published in P—— Valley, for 1825-35.

5. Files of the Blankville *Times* for 1859, 1861-68, 1870-1900.

6. More or less complete records of the Baptist, Episcopal and Presbyterian churches during their entire history, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church since 1874.

7. Records of district school meetings as follows: The Center, 1852-1900; Blankwell, 1844-1900; C—— Corners, 1845-1900; P—— Valley, 1844-1900; S—— Hollow, 1850-1900; C—— Road, 1895-1900; L—— Road, 1845-60, 1889-1900; W—— Hill, 1845-1885; Five Corners, 1875-1900. In M—— Road and E—— Hill the record book was filled and lost about 1890 and no new one provided.

8. Assessment rolls for most of the years of the period 1825-1900.

9. Census records of Blankville for 1874, 1877-1882, 1885-1900.

One of the most valuable sources has been the testimony of old residents. Among these are two old residents of The Center, three of the hill neighborhoods, one of P—— Valley, one of C—— Corners and one of Blankwell. All of these resided in their respective neighborhoods from before 1825

until after 1855, and have furnished much valuable information about the history of their neighborhoods during this period. Though from eighty-two to ninety-two years of age, they all are in full possession of their faculties and have remarkably clear memories for events which transpired in the days of their youth and early manhood or womanhood. In every neighborhood, also, there are one or more old residents who in 1845 were children or young people, and have been able to give more or less information about each family living in their neighborhoods in 1845, and to recall many significant events in the history of the town since 1845. Finally, in each neighborhood, there are several persons who have resided there since 1875 and can furnish information concerning events during the last twenty-five years.

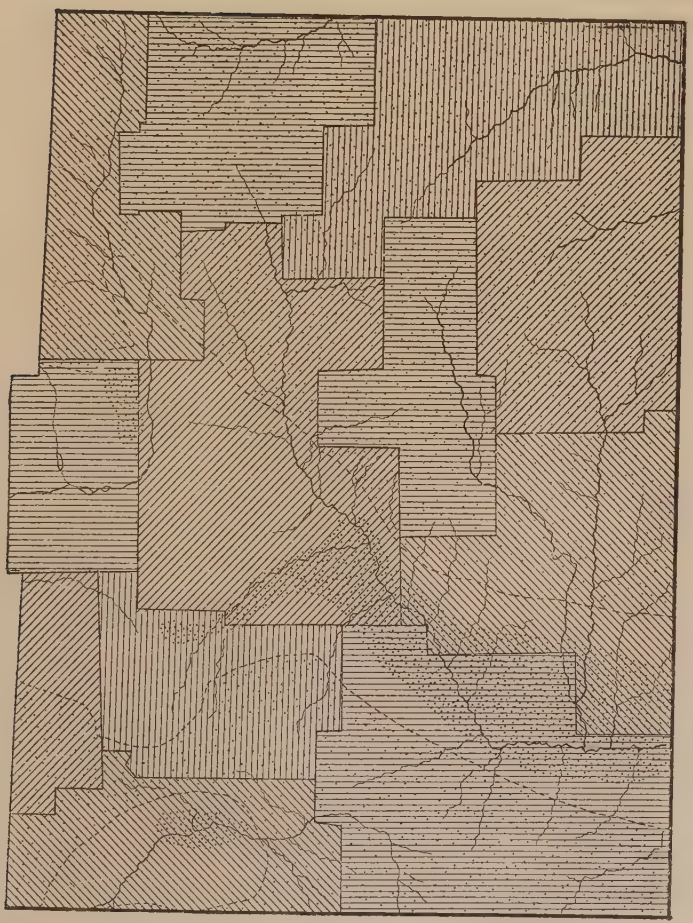
Evidently, our sources are fullest for the years 1845, 1875, and 1900. The censuses of 1845 and 1900 furnish detailed cross-sections of the town, as do the various sources for 1875. It is clear, also, that our sources for 1875-1900 are much fuller than for the preceding period, enabling us, in our study of the later period, to use the statistical method. Not only on account of the nature of the sources, but also because fundamental social and economic changes begin to be evident about the beginning of the last quarter century, we shall take the year 1875 as dividing two periods of social development, the first extending from 1792 to 1875, the second from 1875 to 1900. In fact, as well in facilities for and in method of study, we shall find the second period of the social development of Blanktown very different from the first.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELATION OF BLANKTOWN TO SURROUNDING TOWNS.

In the relation of Blanktown to surrounding towns, topography has played an important part. The physical features of the town are represented in Map I, the heavily dotted sections indicating swamps, the undotted sections valleys, the lightly dotted sections hill country, the crooked lines streams, and the dark spots ponds. It will be seen that the natural entrance to Blanktown is the northern end of the valley, which extends through the town from northeast to southwest. It was through this gateway that the first settlers entered, and a very large part of the immigration since then has entered at this point and streamed southward, eastward and westward. The physical map shows, also, that the eastern and southern parts of the town are, almost wholly, hill country, which acts as a natural obstacle to communication between the valley districts and the country east and south of the town. Evidently, so far as topography is concerned, we should expect Blanktown to be more intimately acquainted with the population to the north than with that to the south and east.[1] The early political activity of Blanktown points to this as the fact. When settled in 1792, it included considerable territory lying to the east and south of its present limits. Soon after the settlement a movement was started by which the town was to be divided into two towns, and a petition to this effect was addressed to the State Legislature. This petition, which may be found

[1] With the town to the west, communication is easier than with those east and south, owing to the valley which opens from the western part of Blanktown into the region beyond, and which is reached from the central valley by crossing the low and narrow range of intervening hills. It is owing, partly, to its greater accessibility that this region has been more intimately associated with Blanktown than has the region east and south.



MAP I

among the documents of Mr. O——, reads as follows: "The petition of the inhabitants of the town of —— respectfully showeth that the said town . . . is . . . extremely long from east to west . . . with a range of high hills running across the centre from north to south, which are very difficult to be traveled. . . . Your petitioners beg leave to state . . . that on each side of said hills is a flourishing settlement locally disunited from each other by said ranges of hills, which, if separated into two towns, would greatly accommodate the inhabitants." This petition was granted in 1797, and the eastern boundary was then fixed as it now stands. Thus, difficulties of communication have, from the first, prevented intimate association between Blanktown and the region to the east. The inhabitants of each town have had their own business centre and rarely have invaded the territory of the other.

Topographical obstacles to communication were, also, a cause of the early separation from the region to the south. From the time Blanktown was made a town by act of legislature, March, 1795, the inhabitants endeavored to have their town cut out of the county, of which it was a part, and annexed to the county to the north. Petitions to this effect were presented to the State Legislature in 1802, 1803 and 1804, when the petition was granted. The avowed cause of this action was, as in the previous case, the difficulty of crossing the steep hills which separated the two populations. The largest hamlet of A——, the town to the south, lies six miles to the east of the valley, which extends northeast and southwest through both towns. This hamlet is reached, from Blanktown, either by going southeast eight miles over the hills from the central valley, or by driving down the valley over the southern boundary and then six miles over the hills to the east. The chief hamlet of B——, the town to the north, on the other hand, is very easily reached from Blanktown, for it lies five miles distant down the stage-road which connected Blanktown with the city of X——, twenty-two miles north-

east of the town. This city was, later, the nearest shipping port on the railroad. The stage road was, until 1867, when Blanktown was connected with X—— by railroad, the chief means of communication with the outside world.

Throughout its history Blanktown has more readily cooperated with the population of B—— than with that of A——. With the former, it has united in several important enterprises. The Blanktown and B—— Agricultural Society was instituted in 1857 and, for over thirty years, held an annual town fair in Blanktown. At a meeting of the citizens of Blanktown, in 1902, to discuss the question of holding an Old Home Week celebration, it was voted that, as Blanktown and B—— had worked together amicably in the agricultural society, and as the interests of B—— centered in Blankville, B—— should be asked to unite with Blanktown in an Old Home Week celebration. The interests of the former town referred to as centering in Blankville are both social and industrial. Occasionally, the towns have cooperated in political activity, as is evident from the following manifesto in the Blankville *Times* of 1879: "This paper will fight desperately for the nomination of a Blanktown or B—— man for surrogate."

With the town to the south, Blanktown has not been accustomed to cooperate. More than this, a feeling of positive dislike has obtained, from the first, between the two towns. This is evident in Blanktown's traditional contempt for A—— and A——'s half apologetic, half defiant attitude toward Blanktown. The Blanktownsman regards it as a mild disgrace to have been born in A——. If a boy wishes to humiliate his playmate, he calls him an A——er. The reasons assigned for this dislike are that the man from A—— is a "backwoodsman" —uncouth in appearance, of a boastful disposition and with a "dauwn in Maine" dialect. Whether or not this is true, a more important reason for the reproach in which he is held is the readiness with which the A—— man is wrought into a religious frenzy, follows after preachers of strange doctrines, and "swallows" stories of local miracles, all of which seem to

the more practical Blanktownsman "all stuff and nonsense." The fundamental cause of the difference between the two towns will be explained in Part II, Chapter XV. The purpose of the present chapter is simply to point out Blanktown's greater intimacy with the region to the north than with that to the south, and to indicate the physical basis of the different relationship.

CHAPTER III.

NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION.

Having described the relation of Blanktown to its environs, we turn, now, to the town itself. Blanktown is divided into twelve school districts, each of which has long been known to the inhabitants of the town by a traditional name. This name is used as designating not a civil division, but a distinct and self-conscious community. Thus, a community is referred to not as the P—— Valley school district, but as P—— Valley, without regard to the civil division with which the natural society[1] happens to coincide. Map II represents the division of Blanktown into its twelve natural societies or neighborhoods, each of which is indicated by its traditional name. The parallel lines indicate public highways, and the heavy cross-sectional line the railroad. The map shows, also, the location of every homestead[2] in the town, Blankville excepted,[3] in the years 1845, 1874 and 1900. At the base of the map is explained the meaning of the symbols used. For instance, the symbol o indicates that, at the point where it is found, a homestead was situated in 1845, but not in 1875 nor in 1900. The symbol + indicates a homestead in 1845 and 1875, but none in 1900. A comparison of Map II with Map I will show that the five easternmost neighborhoods lie almost wholly in the hill country. These will be referred to as the hill neighborhoods, and the other six rural neighborhoods as the valley neighborhoods, for the hills in the latter are only slight elevations as compared with those of the former.

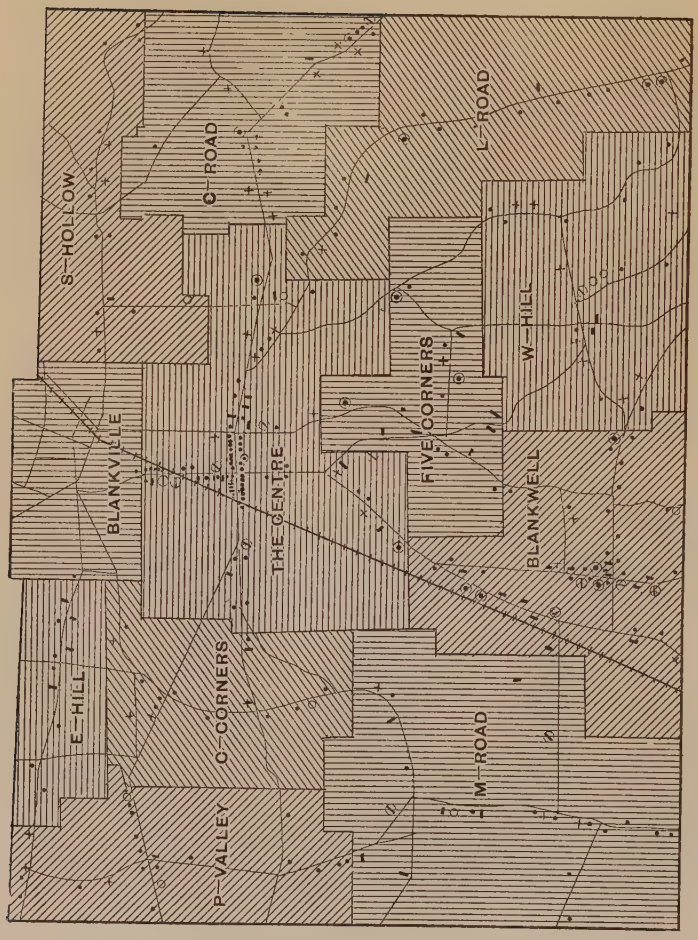
The village of Blankville is the commercial centre of the town. It always has been a commercial and manufacturing

[1] Giddings, "Elements of Sociology." Page 6.

[2] A homestead may shelter one or more families.

[3] These facts could not be ascertained for Blankville.

MAP II



Scale 1½ inches to the mile.

district, while the rest of the town has been largely agricultural. Blankville is the centre of all town interests, political, juristic, economic, social and religious. Here are the meeting places of the various societies and clubs, the churches, the theatre, the court and the town clerk's office. Here the farmers sell their products and purchase their supplies. In short, Blanktown is a natural society made up of twelve distinct, self-conscious neighborhoods.

The important difference between the social population of to-day and that of 1825 is that the neighborhoods of the latter were largely independent, while, to-day, neighborhood lines scarcely can be distinguished. Furthermore, the families of the neighborhood were very closely associated with each other, their relations being intimate to a degree unknown to-day. The purpose of the present chapter is to ascertain in how far previous conditions of acquaintanceship and kinship determined the segregation of the population into these independent closely knit neighborhoods. The question first arises as to the previous relationship of the inhabitants: in how far were the settlers, in each neighborhood, kinsmen? Table I, constructed from Mr. O——'s statistics, shows the degree of kinship of each neighborhood about 1825. In nine of them at least one-half the families about which we have information as to kinship were related to some other family in the same neighborhood.

TABLE I.

Neighborhood.	Whole Number of Families.	Number of Families about Which We Have Information as to Kinship.	Number of Families Who Were Related to One or More Families in the Same Neighborhood.	Number of Families Who Were Related to One or More Families in Another Neighborhood.
Blankville.....	58	8	4	..
The Center.....	35	14	10	4
Blankwell.....	13	8	4	0
M——— Road.....	17	10	6	0
P——— Valley.....	12	12	5	1
C——— Corners.....	7	7	7	0
E——— Hill.....	3	3	2	0
S——— Hollow.....	5	5	5	3
C——— Road.....	5	0	..	..
L——— Road.....	7	6	3	..
W——— Hill.....	8	6	4	0
Five Corners.....	3	0	..	..

In all cases the families of each neighborhood are more intimately related to each other than to the families of other neighborhoods.

Not only through kinship, but also through proximity previous to their immigration, the settlers in each neighborhood were more intimate with each other than with the population of other neighborhoods. Of course, geographical nearness does not prove acquaintanceship. All that can be done here is to give statistics of proximity prior to immigration and leave the reader to judge as to its influence in determining the distribution of immigrants over Blanktown. The question is, in how far were the immigrants so closely situated in the region whence they emigrated as to lead us to suppose that they may have been acquainted with each other prior to their emigration and that this acquaintanceship may have been one reason for their settling near each other in their new home? Statistics as to the place of emigration are found in Mr. O——'s collection,[1] from which we have constructed Table

[1] Assisted by his wife, Mr. O—— attempted, at different times during his life, to ascertain the name of every family which immigrated in Blanktown in the early part of the century, the date of their immigration and of their emigration if the latter occurred, the kinship of the immigrants, the place whence they emigrated and the part of the town where they settled.

II. This table shows that, in eleven neighborhoods, at least one-half the families about which we have information as to place of emigration came from the same county as some other family in the same neighborhood, and, in seven neighborhoods, at least one-third the families came from the same village or city as some other family in the neighborhood. It would be found that a much larger proportion came from the

TABLE II.

Neighborhood.	Whole Number of Families.	Whole Number of Families about Which We Have Information as to Place of Emigration.	Number of Families Who Emigrated from		Number of Families Who Emigrated from the State of				
			The Same Village or City as Another Family Living in the Same Neighborhood.	The Same County as Another Family Living in the Same Neighborhood.	Connecticut.	Rhode Island.	Massachusetts.	Vermont.	N. Hampshire.
Blankville.....	58	19	12	13	4	1	14	..	..
The Center.....	35	34	16	24	15	..	15	2	2
Blankwell.....	13	12	2	6	7	1	2	2	..
M ——— Road.....	17	11	10	10	5	..	6	..	..
P ——— Valley....	12	12	4	6	6	..	5	..	..
C ——— Corners..	7	7	3	6	6	..	1	..	..
E ——— Hill.....	3	3	2	2	2	..	1	..	..
S ——— Hollow...	5	5	5	5	5	..	..	..	..
C ——— Road.....	5	4	0	2	3	1	..	..	..
L ——— Road.....	7	7	2	6	1	6	..	..	..
W ——— Hill.....	8	8	0	8	5	3	..	..	..
Five Corners.....	3	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	.

same village or city if the village or city was specified in our sources as often as is the county. Tables I and II do not necessarily overlap for over one-half the families represented in Table II as having emigrated from the same county as another family in the neighborhood were not related to another family in the neighborhood. Considering together the two tables, we see that kinship and previous proximity probably exerted a decided influence upon the distribution of the immigrants. Of course, previous acquaintanceship does not depend on previous proximity. For instance, nine families who settled in Blankville (only four of whom were related)

came from widely separated regions in the east, from Trumbull, Ct., Fairfield, Ct., Hingham, Mass., and Zanesborough, Mass., upon the recommendation of one family which preceded. There are several such instances of settlement in the same neighborhood, through the influence of previous acquaintanceship, of unrelated families coming from widely separated places of emigration. All this goes to show that kinship, previous proximity and previous acquaintanceship were much more influential in the segregation of the immigrants into neighborhoods and in the strengthening of neighborhood ties than is shown by the tables.

CHAPTER IV.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD.

The economic life of the early days consisted mainly of the exploitation of natural resources. The chief instinct of exploiting individuals, with reference to each other, is that one person's gain is another person's loss. Hence an economy of exploitation involves conflict. However, owing to the universally recognized institution of private property in Blanktown, and to the consequent legal restriction of each individual to that particular part of nature which constituted his private property, conflict between individuals for the same natural wealth was limited to property the ownership of which was not clear. Thus a tree growing on a boundary line raised a dispute as to its proper owner, while trees growing on one side or another of a mutually recognized boundary were appropriated without conflict. The fact remains, however, that the chief instinct underlying the productive activity of early Blanktown was that one man's gain was another man's loss. This, together with the intensity of the struggle for subsistence and the lack of traditional and indisputable boundary lines rendered cases of disputed ownership frequent, as is evident in the frequent conflicts in the church over secular matters and in the civil courts. (Chapters V and VI.)

Thus competition was, in the first instance, physical conflict. The instinct to fight for the possession of natural wealth was, however, restrained, as has been said, by the prevailing custom of respect for law, that is, for the legal definition of that part of nature which each individual might rightfully exploit. Competition was limited to those cases in which the legal definition was not clear: litigation was the chief form of competition. More than this, litigation was regarded by the

community as an ordinary and very praiseworthy economic method. The man who won a civil suit was regarded as a sort of hero, like the successful speculator of a later period. It was customary to litigate all, even the most trivial disputes, and a man was called a coward if he yielded short of a justice's decision.

But courage ceased to be a virtue when it went further than the defense of one's customary or legal rights. The man who was "eternally higgling with the 'sessor," or who "flared up when his neighbors' cows broke into his corn," or was "hard on" those in his debt, or was habitually trying, in "small ways," to get the best of his neighbors, was condemned as a "penny-pincher," or as "grinding the face of the poor." When the question was not one of resistance to a ruthless overriding of customary or legal rights, it was the man who generously yielded the point, as if the small loss involved meant nothing to him, so resourceful was he, who was socially approved.

The fact remains, however, that satisfaction at "getting the best of a deal" was universal and often led to doing not only "small" but even deceitful things. In horse-trading such conduct is proverbial, and it is evident throughout the farmer's business relations. Neighbors habitually regarded each other's increasing wealth with jealousy and were not slow to imagine that, in one way or another, their neighbors were "taking advantage." For instance, to-day, when in the spring the road commissioner begins repairing the public highways, he is abused by farmers from all parts of the town for not repairing their roads first—and this not on account of any immediate necessity, but because others are being served first. The reasonableness of the policy of repairing first those roads used most frequently does not appeal to many farmers. This bitter rivalry between individual and individual in the struggle for wealth and economic advantage was in the first period, however, less important than the independent, persistent attack of each individual upon nature in that little domain legally secured to

him as his private property. That is, the economy of the early days was, as compared with the second period, an independent rather than a competitive economy.

Owing to increasing returns in agriculture, and to the subordinate importance of consumers as compared with capital goods, in the first period, commercial and manufacturing enterprises were limited to the few stores which supplied the population with the necessaries of life and to the factories which used the farmer's raw materials (Chapter VII). Here there was little competition. The farmer bought his supplies at the store which was "handiest," provided no storekeeper was his kinsman nor his particular friend. The last thing thought of was to go from store to store to see where supplies could be bought most cheaply. Such conduct was too vacillating for the straightforward Blanktownsman. "When I see what I want I buy it, and don't run off to another store to see if I can get it a cent cheaper." To be sure, of two articles which would serve the purpose, the "cheapest" was usually chosen. The tendency was to ignore quality and to regard the lowest-priced article as cheapest. At this point the shrewdness or trickery of the storekeeper served him well. But the desire to "get a bargain" did not, in the early days, lead to running from store to store.

With diminishing returns from agriculture and the increasing demand for consumers' goods, stores multiplied (Table XI) and competition between them grew keener. In this commercial competition we note the same instinct which obtained in the economy of exploitation, namely, one man's gain is another man's loss. The merchant regards a patron gained by another merchant as one lost to himself. In this case, however, the domain which each individual may rightfully exploit is not legally limited. All patronage is common land and each merchant may fence off as much as he is shrewd enough to win and to hold. Hence competition for patrons has assumed all the bitterness of the struggle of two farmers in court for the possession of a tree on the boundary line. As a rule, two

merchants selling the same line of goods will have nothing to do with each other, either in a business way or socially. The decrease in litigation in the second period (Chapter VI) does not show, therefore, a corresponding decrease in general conflict because rivalry in the exploitation of nature has been decreasing in importance relatively to an increasing form of conflict which is not in evidence in the civil courts, namely, rivalry in the appropriation of patronage.

Throughout the entire history of Blanktown, exploitation or extensive farming, as against intensive farming, has continued the dominant economic method. This is due to the lack of shrewdness and the hidebound adherence to custom in the social population. Argue most convincingly with an old farmer as to the time and energy which may be saved by using a new tool or the profit that may be gained by using a new fertilizer, and, after hearing you patiently and indulgently to the end, he will reply, "Yes, but I think the old way is cheaper."[1] The exploiting farmer, with his customary methods, has been falling, however, before the farmer who uses the shrewd methods of intensive cultivation. This is the significance of the gradual disappearance of the small holder and the passing of farming lands into the possession of a few large holders. Table III gives the percentage of the heads of families in each neighborhood who, in the years named, owned taxable property. In every neighborhood there was a marked decrease between 1845 and 1900 in the proportion of the heads of families who owned taxable property. This decrease was marked as early as 1875 and, in all neighborhoods but one, continued through the second period. Farmers who are managers as well as workers are gradually gaining possession of the land and forcing the less intelligent farmers into other occupations where they can work under supervision.

[1] Here we see the impossibility of understanding a previous age through a study of its words and phrases. The phrase, "it's cheaper," does not show a shrewd type of mind as would be inferred from its linguistic nature, for it means simply, "I'd rather."

TABLE III.

Neighborhood.	1845.	1874.	1900.
Blankville	67	75	70
The Center	93	67	62
Blankwell	85	60	59
M——— Road	76	50	25
P——— Valley	80	47	40
C——— Corners	100	63	55
E——— Hill	100	50	40
S——— Hollow	81	56	38
C——— Road	76	50	30
L——— Road	85	64	53
W——— Hill	95	59	66
Five Corners	100	61	38
Blanktown	73	67	61

Turning now to that class whose activity generally determined the sociological activity of early Blanktown, namely, the agricultural class, we find that, in an economy of exploitation, the chief method was direct attack, the selected individual trait, persistence: keep striking, showing, prying or driving, until the obstacle gives way. Power of persistence had two forms, its direct form as power of repeated attack and its indirect form as power of self-denial, that is, power of remaining unaffected in one's persistence by the inhibitory influence of temptations to self-indulgence. An important form of self-denial was the prevailing custom of frugality. Persistence was prized above ingenuity, though ingenuity was valued, particularly in the jack-at-all-trades who, often lazy, enjoyed on account of his usefulness, an exemption from the general contempt for laziness. It was persistence which the father urged upon his son going out to "try his luck" in the great world: "Whatever you do, John, do it with all your might." Influenced chiefly by this trait, the farmer's main desire, when he began a piece of work, was to "get it done and off his mind." This led him to "keep hammering away at one thing" from daylight till dark so that often he came to the close of the day's work completely tired out, whereas, by varying his work so as not to press one kind too near to the pain point, utter weariness might

have been avoided without diminution in the work accomplished.

Persistence was not the sole virtue which determined individual worth. A man must be not only an industrious worker but also a good neighbor. Economical activity was predominantly but not wholly a relation of the individual to natural forces. A man must stand ready to help his neighbor as well as himself. Thus, when two woodsmen were working independently in adjoining wood-lots, each would impulsively run to the help of the other as he struggled to "skid" a log upon the bob-sled. "I'll help you" was, on occasion, the impulsive attitude of every man to his neighbor. Thus generosity was the initiatory force in cooperation. However, cooperation was more than generosity. "I'll help you and *you help me in return*" represents the complete relation. If, when a woodsman helped his neighbor, the latter failed, an hour later, to as readily lend a hand, he "was told what he was in plain English," or detested forever afterward as "too mean to dirty your hands on." To be so "close-fisted" as to fail of generosity in time of a neighbor's need was bad enough, but to fail to return, when needed, help generously extended, was meanness too abject for expression.

Mutual helpfulness, thus originating in generosity, early became a customary, cooperative scheme. When the farmer needed help during the harvest he went to his neighbor with the proposition, "You help me with my threshing and I'll help you with yours." Thus the generous-honest form of the original scheme changed to the honest-generous form of habitual cooperation.[1] Originally, generosity was the initiatory ele-

[1] In some people the generous impulse is habitually dominant, in others, the honest. Thus, some people impulsively do good without counting the cost; others, before doing good, make sure they will receive in return as much as they give, or, before accepting a favor, make sure they will be under obligation to return at least not more than they receive. Furthermore, in the same individual, generosity alternates with honesty. Many people do good impulsively, without thinking of a return, and then are vexed if they do not receive something, gratitude at least, from the recipient of their bounty. Their state of consciousness was, originally, pure generosity, but when it passed,

ment. In the developed cooperation, promise to return in kind is the initiatory element, and the bargain is sealed by the reliance of the other party on the party giving the promise.

Honesty was, therefore, the important factor in the business activity of the early days. For in order for an industrial régime based on obligations to mutual helpfulness secured only by verbal agreement to work without friction, it was necessary that a man should invariably return, in kind, help generously extended. His pledge to do so must be reliable, as reliable as his signed agreement. Hence the early definition of honesty, "Your word as good as your note." Thus honesty was the important trait in the relation of individual to individual as persistence was the important trait in the relation of the individual to natural forces. The good citizen was not only the "son of toil," but the "honest son of toil."

Having analyzed the essential nature of early cooperative effort, we turn now to the forms assumed by cooperation. There was more borrowing and lending in the early days than in these days of cheap implements and machinery. Mowing machines and horse-rakes were not generally used until after the war, and long after they came into general use they were too expensive to be owned by every farmer. For consumers' goods, as well as tools and machinery, the farmer was more dependent on his neighbor than to-day. Thus when a guest arrived unexpectedly, he borrowed a spareribb and paid in kind, while to-day canned goods are kept in the house for such an emergency. Until after the invention of matches, in 1835, the custom of borrowing fire was universal, giving rise to the proverbial query, "Have you come for fire?" when the housewife, who had run into her neighbor's for a social chat, said she "must hurry back." In a hundred other ways the families of the neighborhood were dependent on each other where now they are independent.

it was succeeded by an impatient demand for a return. So habitually does the expectation of a return accompany a generous act that the warning given the recipient of bounty, "You'll have to pay for it," has become a common proverb. Thus, when a spell of pleasant weather is enjoyed in March, on all sides is heard the warning: "We'll have to pay for it in April."

The neighborhood, however, was practically independent of the outside world. Each neighborhood had its own skilled artisans,—mechanics and farmers, too,—and its own manufacturing industries (Tables X, XI). The latter were such as consumed the products of the farmer, as, for instance, the potash works which used his wood ashes and the distillery which used his corn and potatoes; or industries which furnished the necessary consumers' goods, as the fulling mills where the products of the spinning wheel were fulled, the saw mills which sawed the logs into lumber and the grist mills which ground the corn and wheat. Thus the farmer's products were used and his consumer's goods manufactured at home.

Before studying the social life of this little neighborhood world, we shall describe an economic condition profoundly affecting social life, namely, the marked equality in the amount of wealth possessed in the first as compared with the second period. Table IV traces the increase in the size of individual fortunes during the history of Blanktown. The figures represent the percentage of the taxable inhabitants of each neighborhood taxed for less than $1,000, for $1,000 to $2,499 inclusive, and for $2,500 and over, in 1845, 1874 and 1900. In all neighborhoods, excepting Five Corners, there has been a decrease, during 1845-1900, in the proportion of taxable inhabitants assessed for less than $1,000; in all neighborhoods save two, an increase in the proportion assessed for $1,000 to $2,499; in four neighborhoods an increase and in four a decrease in the proportion assessed $2,500 and over. The population possessed a greater total wealth in 1900 than in 1845, but shows greater inequality of distribution. This tendency toward inequality had become marked before 1874.

We turn now to the study of the social life of early Blanktown. Inasmuch as the analysis of social classes is reserved for volume two, we shall go into that subject only so far as is necessary to convey a general idea of early social life. Fundamentally, there were only two economic classes, the independent and the dependent classes. All men who were eco-

TABLE IV.

Neighborhood.	Less than $1,000.			$1,000 to $2,499.			$2,500 and Over.		
	1845.	1874.	1900.	1845.	1874.	1900.	1845.	1874.	1900.
Blankville	82	72	65	9	14	19	9	14	16
The Center	60	55	58	39	18	25	1	27	17
Blankwell	78	73	61	22	27	39	0	0	0
M——— Road	56	28	20	25	50	40	19	22	40
P——— Valley	59	20	25	35	50	62	6	30	13
C——— Corners	47	20	33	47	60	67	6	20	0
E——— Hill	25	20	0	25	40	50	50	40	50
S——— Hollow	79	77	67	8	11	33	13	12	0
C——— Road	100	80	50	0	20	50	0	0	0
L——— Road	90	57	88	10	43	12	0	0	0
W——— Hill	90	92	63	9	0	37	1	8	0
Five Corners	50	72	80	25	28	20	25	0	0
Blanktown	72	67	63	18	21	24	10	12	13

The assessment roll for 1900 gives the full value, while those of 1845 and 1874 give less than one-half the full value of the property assessed. Accordingly, only one-half the assessed valuation of 1900 has been given, thus securing the same base for a comparison of the different periods.

nomically independent were regarded as socially equal because all were workers. Not wealth, but wealth-producing qualities of character were the measure of one's stature as a man before the community as well as of one's own self-respect. The stories which old residents tell with greatest gusto are stories of feats of work accomplished. "I've been known to cradle four acres of oats a day"; or, "one morning, at seven o'clock, I went into the hopyard and, when I went to dinner, I had set thirty-five hundred hop-poles—yes, sir, lifted every one breast high and sent her down solid." Nor were the women less industrious than the men. "For ten years after I was married, I cooked and washed and did all the work for six hired men—and Mary and Jerusha, babes in arms."

Success was recognized with unaffected generosity because it was won by work. Let one disparage the success of an unpopular fellow-townsman and he would meet with the short rejoinder: "He's done well; give him his just deserts." Provided a man was a worker, the fact of superior wealth did not alienate him from the masses. Thus, a poor says of a rich neighbor: "You bet that fellow's a worker and not stuck up,

either—just as common as you or I." This feeling of equality included the "hired help" of the farmer. Thus, said an old farmer, "I have our hired man eat with us and sit in the sitting room with us in the evening. We never thought of doing otherwise in the early days. If my man is good enough to work for me, he is good enough to eat with me."

If a man was not a worker no superiority in birth, wealth, or occupation gained him the respect of the community. The squire, the doctor and the parson were esteemed in accordance with their economic value. The doctor was "no good" unless he could "cure quick"; the parson was asked to "be more earnest at the throne of grace that the seasons be ordered in mercy"; the squire who did not give the farmer justice in the line fence dispute was voted down at the next election. Physical toil was the chief interest of the community, and individuals were esteemed according to their efficiency therein.

The lazy man was the one who was despised—the intermittently industrious or the entirely shiftless fellow, who failed to keep his buildings and fences in repair, to have his work done in season and to support his family well. This man was proverbially one who "could talk better than he could work," and he was looked down upon as a "miserable good-for-nothing." It was laziness and not poverty that relegated an individual to the lower social class. A man might occasionally need help, but, provided he was industrious, this was excused on the ground that he "tried hard enough." The desire to help those who were trying to help themselves, to the extent, at least, of giving every man a "square deal," that is, a fair chance to better himself, is the reason why the law for giving all children a free school education was generally well received in Blanktown. It was the man who was not trying to help himself who was despised as low down in the social scale. Only between members of the independent class was there habitual cooperation. However, the cooperative spirit occasionally comes out in the relation of one class to the other. Thus, when generosity prompted to a relief of need, as it

invariably did no matter how worthless was the needy family, the you-help-me feature was present as well as the I'll-help-you, the former meaning, in this case, however, not a return in kind, but a due manifestation of gratitude.

The general abhorrence of laziness tended to spur on individuals to work or to make a pretense of working when they were not obliged to work and did not enjoy it. Note the habitual shamefacedness of the loafer and the apologetic attitude of the man who, for some reason or other, is temporarily idle. Industry was the rule, it was "in the air," and a man who was not temperamentally persistent yielded to its suggestive influence without knowing it and thus added his weight to the general contempt of laziness. In the second period, as we shall see, public sentiment ran in an opposite direction. The high social class was composed not of workers, but of speculators and men-at-leisure. The worker was now an object of contempt—"the dirty laborer with his dinner pail." Hence, individuals became "too proud to work" and seized opportunities to display the fact that they were "above work." Thus, a householder, who can not "afford" to do so, often hires certain work done about the house and stands idly by to "boss the job." This display of leisure is one of the many forms of the general display of wealth, which, as we shall see in the second volume, became, in the second period, the basis of social cleavage.

Work power or power of persistence was the chief but not the sole requirement of members of the higher social class. There was required, also, the possession of those other traits of character which, as we have seen, are selected in an economy of exploitation. These are frugality or the habitual denial of self-indulgent desires, the satisfaction of which would inhibit persistence; courage or persistence in the rightful appropriation of natural wealth, in the face of opposition, even to the point of litigation; peaceableness or the restriction of the fighting impulse to resistance to a ruthless violation of customary and legal rights; honesty, generosity, purity, ob-

servance of law and of the Sabbath. Individuals who united all these traits composed the higher social class of Blanktown society. This class was divided by certain conditions, such as situation and occupation, into subclasses, of which the chief were the middle class, mostly farmers, and the high class, including the merchants and manufacturers of Blankville. Between the two there was little cooperation. Their work was dissimilar and also their pleasures, physical enjoyment playing a less important part in the pleasures of the village than in those of the farming class. Their relations were, largely, relations of mutual respect accorded exemplary fellow-citizens.

Members of each of these classes were required to support a certain standard of living. That of the middle class was the customary frugal standard of the rural population. The fences must be kept up, the buildings in repair and the entire farm must present an orderly appearance. Great was the contempt for the farmer who "wintered" his plow in the open field and left his implements scattered around the farmyard. The housewife must maintain a quiet and pleasant home, must keep her children neat and clean and teach them to be well behaved, and must provide suitable entertainment whenever friends happened to drop in. Those unable to support such a standard of living belonged, usually, to the dependent class.[1]

The pleasures of the middle class were mainly those of physical exercise and appetitive satisfaction. By appetitive satisfac-

[1] The standard of living and the mental traits of the population of the first period are ascertained by studying, first, traits surviving from that period in individuals living to-day; and, secondly, individuals embodying, almost in toto, the mental life of the early days. Of the latter there are several in Blanktown with whom the author has been for years intimately acquainted. The method of study has been simply to record what significant mental traits were observed in chance conversations. The conversation usually was allowed to take any course, as it happened, that there might be perfect frankness in expression. Very often the significance of certain expressions did not strike the author until some moment of casual reflection, perhaps days afterward. One illustration will suffice. A farmer was speaking one day about the difficulty of "getting hired help," and referred to certain men in the neighborhood who were "too lazy to work." His invective against laziness indicated an important social cleavage between the industrious and the lazy individuals of the rural population. After the farmer had finished his denunciation of the lazy poor, the query was put: "But how do they live if they don't work?" "They don't

tion we mean the satisfaction of the appetite for food and drink and of the desire for family life. Appetitive satisfaction was a quantitative not a qualitative affair. The farmer ate not only sufficient food to support life, but "all he could stuff." He desired not merely sufficient warmth to "keep the frost-line back," but enough to arouse a pleasant drowsiness after the exhausting work of a cold day. This desire for physical stimulation often led to indulgence down to the pain point, particularly in winter; that is, to overeating and to drunkenness. The farmer who "lost his appetite" was in a pitiful frame of mind, his efforts to force satisfaction by "stuffing" being amusing. Here the total abstinence farmer had the worst of it, his drinking neighbor securing the desired satisfaction by recourse to drink when appetite for food failed him. A good appetite was the panacea for all ills. Let a child complain of sickness and his complaint was laughed at so long as he had a good appetite.

The pleasures of physical activity were, however, more important than those of appetitive satisfaction. In summer and during pleasant winter weather, there was no complaint of loss of appetite, for appetitive alternated with muscular satisfaction, so that it was carried less near to the pain point. The stimulus of food at dinner revived that feeling of muscular power with which the farmer began work in the morning. As sense of muscular power strengthened, the desire to "get to work again" increased until it inhibited further eating. The farmer's noon hour was limited to the time required to reach the point where the descending curve of satisfaction from eating reached the ascending curve of sense of muscular power.

Thus, the farmer's life was largely made up of pleasures of physical activity and of appetitive satisfaction. His rough garments, unpretentious dwelling, unadorned table and rude vehicles showed little desire for pleasures of a varied receptive sensation. Such a desire he had in germ, as seen in his

live, they just stay," was the reply. Here, then, was a definite conception of two different socially recognized standards of living. Further enquiry brought out what standard the farmer required of members of his class as well as what was the standard of the lower class. These studies were continued with other individuals, leading finally to the classifications and generalizations given above.

love of hearing the old songs well sung and his genuine delight in a good sketch of a familiar scene. But he had it only in germ; no craving was felt in the absence of the means of satisfaction. In fact, a marked desire for sensational pleasures was regarded as a sign of weakness, as is evident from the prevailing contempt for the "dandified" fellow or one conspicuously considerate of the niceties of personal comfort. The pleasures of the strong man, that is, the pleasures of physical activity rather than those of passive enjoyment, were the preferred pleasures of the community. In fact, the coarse appetitive satisfaction of the farmer often took the form of a test of physical strength; for instance, the contest as to who could eat the most roast pig on General Training Day. Note, also, how the farmer's boy laughs at his city cousin whose more delicate stomach revolts at the pork and potatoes. Stolid endurance of pain rather than "hankering" after pleasure was the characteristic spirit of the early period. Except in cases of serious illness or accident, the custom was to "laugh it off" and "go to work and forget it."

Active were more important than passive pleasures, particularly among the men. Outdoor sports occupied a prominent place. Wherever boys or men assembled there were displays of physical prowess. Rough games and fights during recess at school, contests at "pulling stick" between neighborhoods on town-meeting day, show a physically exuberant population. Old residents habitually make disparaging comparisons of the restive boys of the early days with the inert and "stuck-up" youth of to-day. We hear of contests between sturdy youths as to "who could set the most hop-poles," or "put up the most wood," or "husk the most corn." The wrestling and boxing matches in the barn on rainy days, the rude horseplay in the country store on winter evenings, these frequent contests of strength and of rough wit resulted in an unfeigned admiration of the powerful man. With this was associated a love of fair play which might show who really was the powerful man.

In these rough pleasures the whole neighborhood frequently joined. Thus, there were raisings, bees and socials. The chief event of these occasions was a hearty meal, before and after which the young folks played games like blind man's buff, while the "old folks" visited, comparing notes about daily work, cracking jokes, propounding conundrums, or exchanging local gossip. Another very popular pleasure was the singing school which each neighborhood held weekly during the winter months in its schoolhouse, or united with other neighborhoods in holding in the schoolhouses of each in turn. Singing schools may not be regarded as pleasures of physical activity unless it is recollected that the singing schools of the early days were, mainly, contests as to who could make the loudest noise. There were also spelling matches and debates, usually participated in only by the young people of the neighborhood, but sometimes interscholastic.

Once or twice a year the entire town held a "jollification," usually at The Center. The greatest of these festive occasions was General Training Day. On this day, which came in September, every able-bodied man in Blanktown between the ages of fifteen and forty-five was required by law to meet and take part in certain military tactics. There was a parade, a sham battle, roast pig at all the taverns and a masquerade ball in the evening. Preparations for this day were carried on throughout the year, and, when it came, every man, woman and child who could possibly reach The Center was present.

Except for these one or two great annual festivals and for the assembling of the townsmen at church on Sunday, association for pleasure was limited to the neighborhood. To be sure, there was general and frequent intercourse between neighborhoods. Besides the visiting between families there were certain town characters who carried news from neighborhood to neighborhood. "Old Buckley," the shoemaker, who lived in a log cabin on M—— road and carried his bench from house to house, making shoes for the children; Vine B——, the old "watch-tinker," who "would sit down and talk for an

hour, then take a pinch of snuff and tinker away on the clock, talking all the time"; Mrs. ——, the dressmaker, who was in great demand at all times, particularly at weddings and funerals; all these town characters conveyed the gossip of one neighborhood to another, and so kept the neighborhoods acquainted with each other. However, association between neighborhoods was much less intimate than was association between neighbors. The latter was entirely informal, the "women folks" running back and forth whenever there was a lull in the morning's work or whenever they had some spicy gossip to tell; and longer calls were frequent and made without special invitation. As one old resident said, "I used to take the baby in one arm and some knitting in the other and go over to the neighbors' and stay all the afternoon and to tea. We went back and forth whenever we felt like it without waiting to be asked." The social life of the men was equally informal. In at least eight neighborhoods, in 1825, and in at least six, in 1845, there was a tavern or store (Table XI) where the farmers congregated in the evening and indulged in arguments, jokes and horse-play. As a result of this universal simplicity in pleasure enjoyment there was a feeling of equality and good fellowship throughout the entire community. Indeed, perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of the first period, as compared with the second, was the entire absence of any feeling of inequality. It seemed not to occur to anyone that he or she was or could be "better" than a neighbor in virtue of an assured social position. In those days no position was assured. Each and every one was dependent on his own daily efforts. Furthermore, the day's work entailed much hardship. All suffered hardships; none, rich or poor, could escape them. The summer's heat was oppressive to the haymakers, the winter's cold benumbing to the woodmen; the use of one set of muscles through long hours made work, indoors and out, excessively wearisome. Especially was this true in times of special work like "sugaring" or "hop picking," when a "good spell of weather" compelled the farmer to work day and night.

Even if some families were not obliged to work so hard as others, yet all were liable to loss in bad seasons, and, more important still, all alike were liable to suffering through accident, sickness and bereavement. In case of sickness or accident the rich were as dependent on the poor as the poor on the rich. No trained nurse could be secured by the next train; the proffered assistance of the poor man's wife was gratefully accepted and she watched by the bedside of her rich neighbor's child while the tired mother gained some rest. Thus, common hardships and the common need of help united the entire community with the bond of compassionate sympathy.

Many relations in those days were sympathetic, which, to-day, are purely matters of business. The physician was not regarded as a professional man to be abruptly dismissed, as fancy preferred another. He was a friend in need, both doctor and nurse—note the old-time friendship between the family and the family doctor. And the doctor, on his part, was actuated by sympathetic rather than business motives. No night was too dark or stormy to keep him from answering a call for help. To-day, however, treated as purely a business man, he retaliates by "picking his practice," and is bitterly denounced for his inhumanity. The parson, too, was a friend in need. None like he could bring comfort in bereavement, for he alone could give assurance of a reunion in heaven. As in the case of the doctor, however, so the relation of "pastor and people" has become less sympathetic; the minister to-day pays more attention to the business side of the relation.

Not only in sickness and bereavement, but also in the ups and downs of everyday life, the help of neighbors was welcome. Thus, the monotony of life was most pleasantly broken by dropping in for a chat with a neighbor and by having the neighbors drop in. Note the solicitude, in case of a change of neighbors, as to whether the new neighbors will be "good people"; that is, congenial. Owing to the importance of these relations of mutual sympathy, rural homes usually stood in groups. The need of sympathy was a common bond uniting all the families of the neighborhood. No family had an assured position of

social predominance because no family had an assured exemption from hardship and suffering.

The universal sense of need of sympathy aroused a desire to manifest a sympathetic and helpful disposition; that is, generosity. The most notable manifestation of generosity was the universal cheeriness and good will with which neighbor greeted neighbor. Each and all, rich and poor, met the other in that hale-fellow-well-met spirit which, as will be shown in the second volume, bears a marked contrast to the later serious, submissive worship of the rich by the poor, and the condescending philanthropy of the rich. Ask the old residents who were the town favorites in the early days and they will refer to H—— T——, the jolly toll-gate keeper with a cheery greeting for everybody, or to I—— B——, great-hearted farmer, who, on Sunday, hitched his team to his big wagon and took the whole neighborhood to church. "He was always ready with a bushel of potatoes for the poor and didn't want the whole town to know it"; "never pressed" an honest debtor, "never picked a quarrel and never held a grudge." It is this cheeriness, forbearance and ready helpfulness, this neighborliness, which is meant by that succinct eulogy of the departed: "He was a good neighbor." This impulsive fellow-feeling united all classes, manifesting itself, on occasion, in the most sternly orthodox old deacon who speaks warmly of the cheery, industrious young man even though the latter takes no particular interest in religious things. And the young man feels and returns the good will of the old deacon, regarding him as "a fine old man, sincere in his beliefs." But, with widening association and the increasing diversity of interests, the young became more and more prone to regard the old men as "old fogies" and the old to regard the young as "uppish" or "feeling their oats." Fellow-feeling ceased to exist when the population diverged too far in their thinking and acting. The forces which diversified, more and more, the activities of the day's work and the day's pleasure and so gradually destroyed fellow-feeling will be described in Part II of this book and systematically stated in the second volume.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The social life of the early days was, as described in the last chapter, largely a neighborhood affair. There was little or no contact with the outside world. Books, papers and magazines were rare and very little traveling was done. The files of the Blanktown *Intelligencer* of 1825-35 contain no news, local or foreign. The columns are filled with long dissertations on theological subjects and editorials on "perpetual motion," the hobby of the editor. As one old resident said: "The *Intelligencer* didn't even tell whether the cholera in —— was abating." Excepting the mental exercise of listening to sermons on Sunday, and of occasional religious and political duscussions, there was very little that may be called intellectual in the life of the early days. Both work and pleasure were mainly a matter of physical activity and appetitive satisfaction.

The district schools were not places for education in the modern sense of the term. True to their belief that the important trait of character was persistence, the early inhabitants understood education to mean "discipline"—a course of training which would develop power of self-restraint, rather than the acquisition of knowledge. "The best teacher was the teacher who could keep the best order." Pupils must be taught to restrain their unruly impulses before they could become persistent workers or custom-observing citizens. The trustee frequently enjoined the schoolmaster to "keep order whatever you do, and give them what knowledge you have time for after that's done. Cuff 'em, thrash 'em—anyway to keep order; but, whatever you do, don't let 'em thrash you." Speaking of the importance of discipline, an old resident compared the schools of to-day with those of the early days: "The schoolmasters of our time were poor teachers but good disciplinarians. There is no discipline in the district schools to-day. You can't whip 'em, and so they do as they are a-mind to."

Owing to the poverty of intellectual interests, the church filled a much larger place in the life of the early days than today. Not only through its weekly services, almost the sole occasions when a considerable number of both sexes met together, but also through its general censorship of social and intellectual activity, the church's influence was everywhere felt. No reading matter was allowed the child except "good reading," that is, reading pronounced good by the church. An old resident said of her childhood in one of the most cultured families of early Blanktown: "My father was very careful to provide good reading for us. We took the *Christian Repository of Knowledge,* which contained much interesting and profitable information on all subjects."

The following churches have existed in Blanktown, some for a longer, others for a shorter period: The Congregational, with its meeting-house at The Center, founded in 1796, and existing until about 1850; the Methodist-Episcopal, instituted about 1835 and existing until about 1860, with its meeting-house at Blankwell after 1847; and the following churches, with their meeting-houses at Blankville: Baptist (1801-1900), Presbyterian (1823-1900), Episcopal (1840-1900), Welsh Congregational (1852-1900), Roman Catholic (1850-1900), Methodist-Episcopal (1857-1900). In tracing the development of the religious activity of the town, we shall note first the increase or decrease in the number of members of each of these churches. The following table gives the percentage of the families of the region specified represented in the membership of the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches:

TABLE V.

Neighborhoods.	Protestant Churches.			Roman Catholic Churches.			All Churches.		
	1845.	1875.	1900.	1845.	1875.	1900.	1845.	1875.	1900.
Five Hill neighborhoods	18.7	11.9	11.1	0	21.7	22.2	18.7	33.6	33.3
Six Valley neighborhoods	30.1	26.7	18.1	0	3.9	12.1	30.1	30.6	30.2
Blankville	44.7	62.2	51.3	0	11.1	19.8	44.7	73.3	71.1
Blanktown	33.7	43.9	34.1	0	10.4	16.9	33.7	54.3	51.0

It is to be noted first that there has been an increase of the Catholic proportion of the population, and that this has been greatest in the hill districts, where persons of Irish birth or parentage have settled; secondly, that there has been a decrease of the Protestant proportion of the population in the rural districts and an increase in the village. The Protestant proportion for the whole town has remained about the same. A comparison of church membership does not, however, convey a true idea of the relative importance of the church in the two periods. In the first place, many families represented in the church in 1900 were represented by the children, the parents not being church members. But, in 1845, children were not permitted to join the church, though they went to meeting with their parents. Only the Episcopal and Catholic churches admitted children to membership. In the second place, a much larger number of families not represented in the membership regularly attended church in the early period. As one old resident said: "We all tumbled into the lumber wagon and went to church as regularly as Sunday came. One would as soon have thought of not sitting down to dinner as of not going to church." Sabbath observance by abstaining from work and "going to meeting" was a universal custom. The most reckless farmer felt a certain twinge of fear at the thought of working on Sunday. Having nothing to do but the chores, the men habitually "hitched up" after breakfast and took the "wimmin folks" to church. The fact remains, however, that, as compared with surrounding towns, a small proportion of the families of early Blanktown were represented in the membership of the churches. Reasons for this will be given further on in the present chapter and also in Part II, Chapter XV.

Having analyzed the distribution of the neighborhood populations among the churches, we turn now to the distribution of the church memberships among the neighborhoods. Table VI represents the number of members of each church which resided in the neighborhoods specified. The table shows that in 1845

TABLE VI

Church.	Five Hill Neighborhoods.			Six Valley Neighborhoods.			Blankville.		
	1845.	1875.	1900.	1845.	1875.	1900.	1845.	1875.	1900.
Congregational	11	..	..	43	..	..	0	..	..
Baptist	19	10	0	22	18	14	40	51	31
Presbyterian	4	5	3	42	47	24	102	118	174
Episcopal	4	1	3	5	7	14	50	96	115
Methodist-Episcopal	..	2	5	25	7	12	..	52	37
Welsh Congregational	..	2	3	..	3	4	..	45	42
Roman Catholic	..	80	60	..	30	66	..	139	281

the Congregational was exclusively the church of the rural districts, the Presbyterian largely a village church, while the Baptist was about evenly divided between village and country. Considering each neighborhood in 1845 separately, we find that in two, The Center and Blankwell, three churches were represented; in eight, two churches; while in only two neighborhoods did all church-going families attend the same church. However, difference in church membership very seldom offered a barrier to social intercourse, for Catholics were few; and, furthermore, the large proportion of families not represented in any church shows the vital interests of the population to have been other than those doctrines which distinguish different sects.

Another important point brought out by the table is that in 1900 the large majority of the members of the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches were residents of Blankville, while only a small majority of the Methodists and Baptists were village people. We may expect, therefore, that the influence of the rural districts will be greater in the latter than in the former churches (Part II, Chapter VIII). Another significant fact is that, during the period 1875-1900, the membership of the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches has increased, while that of the Baptist and Methodist churches has decreased. The Baptists have fallen off in both village and country, while the

Methodist decrease has been confined to Blankville. The Episcopalians have increased in both village and country, while the Presbyterian increase has been confined to Blankville. The important point is the decrease of the Methodist and Baptist membership and the increase of the Episcopal and Presbyterian membership in Blankville (Part II, Chapter VIII).

One of the chief functions of the church in the early period was its strict censorship of amusements. Up to 1875 all Protestant churches, excepting the Episcopal, disapproved of billiard, pool, and card-playing, dancing and theatre-going. No church formally disapproved of liquor-drinking until about 1840. In fact, up to that time, it was thought uncivil to fail to offer the minister a glass of ale or wine when he made a pastoral call. The younger generation, however, were more inclined than the older to drink to excess. The saloons of Blankwell, The Center and Blankville became dens of drunkenness, and before 1840 total abstinence had become a watchword of all churches excepting the Episcopal. The Baptists were first to declare, as a society, for total abstinence. In 1840 they incorporated into their covenant the following resolution: "To use intoxicating liquors as a beverage, to manufacture, sell, or in any other way supply them . . . or intentionally to furnish materials . . . for such manufacture is . . . sinful." The clause "intentionally to furnish materials for such manufacture" refers to hop raising, showing that in 1840 hop raising was as yet a rudimentary industry; for it is not probable that the church would have forbidden participation in an industry in which its members were generally or extensively engaged. In 1850 the Presbyterian Church passed a similar resolution.

The reaction against excessive liquor-drinking was not confined to the churches. About 1844 Washingtonian temperance lecturers started a crusade in Blanktown, speaking in Blankville, The Center and Blankwell, and choruses of young men sang temperance songs. Great excitement prevailed, and a large number signed the pledge to total abstinence. For some

years the temperance question was an important one and everybody "took sides." In 1846 there was an exciting debate at The Center on the question: "Which is worse, intemperance or war," in which, says an old resident, "the war party was licked." In the town-meeting records for 1846 is the following: "At a special election of the electors of the town of —— held on the third Tuesday in May, 1846, to decide whether the board of excise of said town shall grant licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors, 201 voted license and 166 voted no license." This is the largest no-license vote on record in the town's history. The reaction to excessive liquor-drinking, in so far as it was not confined to the church, was only temporary. The churches, however, since 1840, have stood for total abstinence.

We turn now to a second phase of religious activity, namely, revivals. The religion of the early days was largely a "profession" of allegiance to certain beliefs obscurely or not at all understood. What the individual understood his or her profession to mean was that, in order to escape eternal punishment, he or she must no longer do certain things, chief of which were dancing, card, billiard and pool-playing, theatre-going and liquor-drinking;—not only must they not do these things, but also they must "come out from among" those who did them by going before the church, confessing their sins and asking to be received into membership. The purpose of the revival was to drive "sinners" to such a profession by picturing the torments of hell and pointing to the profession as the only way to escape them. The revival usually assumed the form of a series of meetings held each evening for some weeks, and in which two or more churches usually united under the leadership of an evangelist.

Table VII gives the number and the date of the revivals which have taken place in Blanktown. Until recently there have been "special meetings" in the Baptist and Methodist churches almost every winter, but, unless the excitement has

become so great as to cause two or more churches to sink their differences and unite in religious meetings, the special meetings have not been included in the table as revivals. The number given up to 1859 includes only those which can be recalled by old residents, and hence only those in which the excitement was considerable. It is probable, however, that the table includes practically all the revivals of this period, for

TABLE VII.

Year in Which the Revival Occurred.	Churches in Which the Revival Started.				Churches Which Joined in the Revival.				Number Which Joined the Church in This Year.			
	Baptist.	Congregational.	Methodist.	Presbyterian.	Baptist.	Congregational.	Methodist.	Presbyterian.	Baptist.	Congregational.	Methodist.	Presbyterian.
1801	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	77	..	..
1816	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	70	101	..	..
1819	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	77	65	..	..
1836	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	43	*	..	57
1838	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	31	*	..	25
1847	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	11	*	..	2
1857	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	12	..	*	41
1866	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	9	..	*	57
1872	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	3	..	*	16
1877	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	35	..	18	..
1879	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	32	..	7	13
1888	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	31	..	15	..
1889	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	4	..	9	..
1890	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	4	..	5	..
1891	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	9	..	14	..
1892	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	10	..	9	..
1893	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	24	..	20	..

in no other years have so great a number joined the church as in the years specified in the table. For those occurring after 1859, personal testimony has been supplemented by the files of the Blankville *Times*. The number of persons who joined the churches in the year of the revival has been given as an indication of the intensity of the excitement, though probably not all joined under the influence of revival excitement. The

revivals of 1816, 1836, 1847, 1857 and 1866 were the most "stirring" in the history of the town, judging from the number who joined the church in these years and from the testimony of old residents. As a result of the revival of 1847 the Methodists, Baptists and Universalists of Blankwell united in building a meeting-house, though they did not long worship in unanimity. The Methodist Church of Blankville was formed during the revival of 1857. It is significant that four of these notable revivals occurred during years of particularly strong religious excitement throughout the country.

Another important point shown by the table is that most of the revivals started in the Baptist Church and from there spread to the Presbyterian. The latter church ceased to take part in revivals after 1879, owing, as will be shown in Part II, to a change in the religious activity of that church. No notable revival has occurred since 1879, as is evident from the fact that, except in 1888, comparatively few persons have joined the church as a result of revivals. For this reason the membership of those churches which have retained the revival methods has decreased, while the membership of churches which have used other methods has increased (Part II, Chapter VIII).

There are two principal conditions which have hindered the spread of revival excitement. One is the inhibitory influence of a varied pleasure activity throughout the population. This grew stronger during the second period, so that it became increasingly difficult to arouse the universal and overwhelming fear necessary for a successful revival. The other condition is power of persistent work. It is this trait of character which has prevented revivals from "sweeping the town" as they have swept the town to the south. Blanktown always has been characterized by customary and formal as opposed to "crazy" religious conduct. The revivals of the town have been as gentle zephyrs compared with the storm-swept town to the south. The dominant formality of Blanktown's religion is evident from several facts. As far as can be ascertained, the

town has had only four families of spiritualists. No camp meetings have been held on its territory. Itinerant preachers belonging to the Mormon, Perfectionist, Second Adventist sects have preached in Blanktown, but with little effect. The town to the south, on the other hand, has been the scene of great camp meetings, frenzied revivals and of Perfectionist and Second Adventist crazes. Stories of miraculous healing and of supernatural appearances have been everywhere current, showing a type of mind peculiarly susceptible to religious frenzy.[1] These vagaries have been regarded by the stern Sabbath observers of Blanktown with amusement and contempt. Their religion is of a different sort, as is shown by the character of their revivals. These have taken the form, not of intense and sweeping excitement resulting in "wholesale conversions," but of sharp conflicts between the church and the "sinners," resulting in bitter animosities. The two parties sometimes came to blows. In one instance the evangelist, exasperated by the failure of his usually successful methods, gave vent to threatenings and denunciations, and the sinners retaliated by firing off cannon in front of the church and surrounding the church in an angry crowd to mob the preacher. But the preacher stood his ground, declaring, "I'd rather make you mad than not; when you get mad there's some hope for you." And, sure enough, "some of the maddest were finally converted and praised the Lord the loudest."

The reason revival frenzy did not overwhelm Blanktown as it did the town to the south is to be found, as has been said, in the persistent character of the population of the former as compared with the emotional susceptibility to suggestion of the latter. Blanktown's main interest was in daily, persistent toil, rather than in "seeing visions and dreaming dreams." Religion meant a due respect for God's law as signified by abstaining from work on Sunday and going to meeting. But, "six days

[1] The juristic activity of the town to the south, notably its White-Cap raids and its political activity, notably the fact that more than once it "has gone no license," is in strong contrast with the sternly formal legality and the impatience of dogmatic restraint of the Blanktownsman.

shalt thou work" was as sternly obeyed as "the seventh day is the Sabbath . . . in it thou shalt not work." Religion was rigidly excluded from the work days.

The forceful, choleric character of the Blanktown population is evident not only in the failure of revival efforts, but also in the continual wrangling among church members over secular affairs, resulting in factional feuds and sometimes in breaking up the church. Thus the Baptist Church was no sooner instituted in Blankville in 1801 than dissensions arose and conflicts became so bitter that in 1807 the church was broken up. In 1814 it was reinstituted with the following manifesto: "The Baptist Church of Christ . . . having waded in . . . trials and difficulties, and their travel as a church having ceased, it pleased God to send Elder John Upfold amongst us. A conference was held. . . . The brethren present agreed to leave off all their old difficulties and travel forward . . . without bringing any of their former troubles with them." The services of the church were resumed, but in less than two months the "brethren" restarted the "trials and difficulties" by "stating things which the church had covenanted not to bring into the church when they took up their travel." Then follow amusing accounts of the trials of recreant members by the church sitting as an ecclesiastical court. From 1801 to 1855, 101 trials are recorded, in 74 of which the defendant was excluded from the church. The number both of trials and exclusions was probably much greater than this, as it is evident from the imperfect records that not all were recorded. The number of trials each year does not vary greatly, the largest number in any one decade coming in 1836-1845. Of the seventy-six cases in which the cause of action is recorded, the charge was, in four cases, fornication and adultery; in thirteen, dishonesty or intoxication or swearing or telling a falsehood or desertion of husband; in two, attending a turkey-shoot; in six, refusing to leave the Masonic society during the

anti-masonic crusade;[1] while in fifty-one the charge was "not going to meeting," or "breach of the covenant," or "breach of the Sabbath." Several charges under the latter head are extremely childish. For instance, one man was accused of "strolling his fields and mending his fence," and an apology was demanded by the church. His apology was voted "not satisfactory." He offered four other apologies on successive occasions, each being voted not satisfactory, and finally he was excluded. Each successive apology split the church more and more into factions, some regarding it as sufficient, others as not so. Thus, quarreling went on up to 1855, after which no trials are recorded. During the last thirty years, exclusions have followed only more serious offenses, such as drunkenness, immorality and "ceasing to walk with the church." The Congregational as well as the Baptist Church was torn with dissensions during its entire history, the record book being "so full of disgraceful quarrels that about 1830 some young people secretly gained possession of the records and burned them." In 1823 certain members, despairing of ever again seeing unanimity restored, withdrew and formed a Presby-

[1] The anti-masonic craze shook Blanktown from centre to circumference. The town lodge was forced to suspend its meetings for a year and so lost its charter. It was not reinstituted until 1848. In 1829, with the exception of the twenty-six Masons and their immediate friends, the whole town was anti-masonic, asserting that "it was a shame that, in a free country, a man should be prevented from saying what he pleased." The fact that a number of prominent members of the Baptist Church were Masons at first kept that sect from taking radical action. The church "Resolved, that we cherish the most kindly and brotherly affection toward each other, and meet each other at our communion service on the principles of our articles of faith as the only proper ground of fellowship in the church." However, this anti-masonic feeling increased, finally culminating in the following resolution of 1830: "Resolved, that we, as a church, consider ourselves aggrieved with our Masonic brethren for adhering to Masonry, and we earnestly request them, for the peace of the church, to withdraw themselves from the same." In 1831 came another resolution providing that all Masons who abstain from attending Masonic meetings may remain members of the church. If they refuse, they are to receive letters of dismission, "as are all others not satisfied with this arrangement." Similar action was taken by the Congregational Church, but the Presbyterians, though anti-masonic, did not go so far as to exclude Masons from membership.

terian Church with the hope that the more centralized form of government would serve to overawe contending factions in the local church. The Presbyterian records are not complete enough to convey an idea of the extent of conflict in that church. Judging from the testimony of old residents, however, quarrels were frequent enough, though they always stopped short of schism.

The important point in these conflicts is that they originated not in doctrinal differences, nor in offences against law and custom, but in disputes over "secular" matters, usually disputed ownership of private property. For instance, "breach of covenant" and "not going to meeting" are frequently recorded as causes of expulsion. These are general terms often used to designate the cause of the expulsion of a member whose original transgression had, in the course of the long controversy, been forgotten, and which was not in itself a sufficient cause for expulsion, but led to acts which were. Thus two brothers quarreled over the position of a line fence. One stayed away from meeting because the other was upheld by the church, and the former was expelled from membership for "not going to meeting." Disputed ownership of private property was in this way very often the original cause of trials and expulsions. Thus the religion of early Blanktown is the religion of a forceful, choleric people, a people chiefly interested in the struggle for wealth—too persistent and too independent to be overwhelmed by religious fear or to be strongly enough interested in doctrine to make possible harmonious cooperation in church activity.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY JURISTIC AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the religious life of early Blanktown was characterized by factional disputes caused not by religious intolerance, but by bringing into the church quarrels over economic affairs. Quarrelsomeness was one of the chief traits of the population. In the young this trait manifested itself in a love of rude horse-play and of creating disturbances. Up to 1875 we find, in the Blankville *Times,* frequent condemnatory references to the lawlessness of small boys as, for instance, "boys who waylaid an old man and robbed him of a peck of apples"; "saucy boys who stare women out of countenance"; and "boys who tie tin cans to dogs' tails, rob birds' nests, shoot songbirds and disturb meetings." At a church anniversary held in 1901 an old resident remarked that "the boys of to-day are better than those of the early days, for now they go to church and listen quietly to the preaching instead of throwing shot at the minister and creating disturbances as they used to." This youthful love of horse-play assumed in adults the disposition to quarrel wherever anything might be gained thereby, and not only that, but to quarrel to the finish, causing the dispute to be taken, finally, before an ecclesiastical or civil court.

Blanktown lawsuits "came off" in the town or the county court. Interest in the latter may be inferred from the remark of an old resident: "So many went to court in the fall that there wa'nt enough left to do the chores." Of lawsuits held in the town courts, it was said: "We had a lawsuit about every other day, and, before it was over, the contending parties, the witnesses and the judge were often pretty drunk." This reference to the frequency of lawsuits is, judging from our scanty records, not far from the truth. We have no com-

plete record for any year of the cases tried before town courts. For the years 1828 to 1830 one of the three dockets is extant, and two dockets for 1842-45, one of them being that of the most popular justice and the other that of a justice by no means unpopular. No criminal case is recorded in the docket of 1828-30, and only two criminal cases in the dockets of 1842-45. Of civil cases, the docket of 1828-30 records 389, the dockets for 1842-45, 196; that is, one of the three dockets of 1828-30 records twice as many cases as two of the dockets of 1842-45, and this while the population of the town, in 1825, was only eighty-seven per cent of what it was in 1845. Judging from this slender evidence, therefore, lawsuits decreased in number between the two periods. Records still more fragmentary supplemented by personal testimony lead us to suppose that this decrease continued after 1845. Certain it is that, during the second period, lawsuits have been very rare. Criminal cases, on the contrary, have increased, being largely, however, cases of non-resident tramps arrested for drunkenness and vagrancy.

There are several reasons for the decrease in the number of civil cases. In many cases the cause of action no longer exists. Thus, quarrels over line fences have ceased, because the position of line fences is now traditional and unquestioned. There were, also, quarrels over the expropriation of land for new highways, over the possession of a fox killed by one man and run by the dogs of another, all of which causes of action no longer exist. But, a more important reason for the decrease of litigations is the increasing importance of the trait of shrewdness as against persistence in direct attack in economic activity. The shrewd man can control his impulse to quarrel if he sees anything to be gained thereby; and what may be gained thereby has continually increased in importance. In the early days the farmer was "independent." He produced almost all the wealth he needed for consumption. Hence, he could be at swords' points with the rest of the world and not have his prosperity seriously impaired. Although this

state of independence is the chief advantage cited by the farmer to-day when comparing farming with other vocations, yet the farmer is no longer independent. The influence of his growing dependence upon the decrease in litigation is evident from the following remark of a prosperous farmer: "I make it a point never to have any trouble with my tenants. If I don't like a tenant I make him think I like him until his time is out and then I let him go. If I should have trouble with my tenants people would say, 'he is a hard man; he got his riches by grinding the face of the poor.' This adverse criticism would be unpleasant of itself, involving the accusation that I am an oppressor of the weak, and it would have disastrous consequences in that I should be unable to secure tenants for my farms." Thus, increasing economic dependence has caused a growing desire to avoid quarreling and litigation.

Another reason for the decrease in litigation is the growing public sentiment against "lawing it." This is due to several causes, one of which may be inferred from the statement above quoted that the litigant is apt to be regarded as "an oppressor of the weak." In the early days there were few "weak" individuals, and what few there were were saved from oppression by the predominating generosity of those days. Generally, litigants were so nearly equal in strength that public sentiment could not regard a lawsuit as a strong man bullying a weaker. To-day litigation would partake so largely of this character that public sentiment would go with the poor man, as it often does, regardless of the justice of the case. Thus, there often is outspoken sympathy with the man who takes unjust advantage of legal subterfuges to escape paying his debts. Another cause of the growing public sentiment against "lawing it" is the gradual broadening of interests which has given people something to think about besides slights and injuries suffered from their neighbors and so has weakened the impulse of vengeance.

Early political as well as juristic and religious activity shows a tendency toward quarrelsomeness. As one old resident re-

marked, "A republican couldn't meet a democrat without stopping to argue with him." Partisanship was particularly bitter in the campaign of 1840 when the Whig farmers spent whole days driving over the town with miniature log cabins on their wagons and whole nights marching in torchlight processions and drinking hard cider. Impulsive, like partisanship, and scarcely less strong was personal allegiance. Town officers were chosen not for their ability to administer the affairs of their offices efficiently so much as for their personal impressiveness. The town officers most readily and favorably recalled by old residents have been "great big men," good natured, unassuming and holding their power in reserve, but able, on occasion, to display it to advantage, particularly on election day and town meeting day. In national politics, also, admiration of personality has been an important element in popular support. President Jackson was perhaps more popular in Blanktown than has been any president before or since his time. His popularity lay in the fact that "he would do what he thought was right, regardless of anything. If he wanted to pile up cotton bales and thrash the British, he would do it."

Physical power ceased to be an element of success in political activity, however, when it was accompanied by a domineering spirit. The violent or the "big feeling" man was "taken down" in every way, from the thrashing of the bully at school to the lashing of the boaster with ridicule and horse-play. No aspirant for office "killed himself" so quickly as the man who, in canvassing, showed a pompous disposition. The instinctive dread of the dominating impulse sometimes led to precautionary measures, as, for instance, the policy of some school districts of not allowing the same person to fill the office of school trustee for several consecutive terms for fear he might acquire undue prestige in the community and exercise undue influence in school meetings. "Let the good thing go round" was the watchword both in district and town politics. Nothing called out a full school meeting more surely than the demand of a trustee for reelection whom it was "time

to put out." Thus, not only in the economic institution of private property, but also throughout the customary activity of the early days, we see safeguards against the exploiting and dominating impulses.

Partisanship was, like personal allegiance, impulsive. The issues of a campaign were decided impulsively rather than deliberatively. Thus, one of the arguments for free trade (Blanktown was predominately for free trade) was that it was the policy of "fair play and every man for himself without help or hindrance." Even when issues such as free trade and protection were argued, their relative merits were stated in a few simple sentences to the entire satisfaction of the disputants. When, in late years, political problems as the monetary and the trust problems have become more complicated, the farmer has rapidly lost interest in politics. As one old resident said during the campaign of 1896, "I don't take any more interest in politics. It's too deep for me now." The same causes which operated to discourage "lawing it" are dispelling the bigotries of partisanship and personal allegiance. Broadening association is enabling people to see the truth on both sides, and increasing shrewdness is weakening the power of admiration and rendering individuals more thoughtful. Whether this greater shrewdness will be made subservient to individual interest or to the common weal remains to be seen.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF TOWN ASSOCIATION.

The earliest files of the Blankville *Times* reveal a social life much different from that of the early days. Seeking the cause of this change we find that, before 1860, the basis of social relations had been gradually broadening from neighborhood association to what may be called town association. Tracing the developing of town association we find three sets of changes at work, changes in the kinship and the density of the population, economic changes, and changes in cultural activity. The chief change in physical characteristics is a decrease in the degree of kinship of each neighborhood and an increase of kinship between the rural districts and Blankville. The kinship of the early population already has been described. The only other period for which we have statistics is the year 1900. These are given in Table VIII. Comparing Table VIII with

TABLE VIII.

Neighborhood.	Whole Number of Families.	Number of Families Related to One or More Families in the Same Neighborhood.	Number of Families Related to One or More Families in Another Neighborhood.	Number of Families Related to One or More Families in Blankville.
The Center.....	75	17	44	34
Blankwell.....	38	19	21	16
M——— Road.....	17	4	10	10
P ——— Valley	13	2	10	10
C ——— Corners.....	12	0	7	7
E ——— Hill.....	10	0	5	4
S ——— Hollow	14	0	10	8
C ——— Road.....	13	0	9	7
L ——— Road.....	12	2	5	3
W——— Hill.....	12	2	9	6
Five Corners.....	12	2	9	7

Table I, we note a very great decrease in the degree of kinship of each neighborhood and a great increase in kinship

between neighborhoods, especially between Blankville and the rural neighborhoods. We can not tell how far this change had gone before 1875, but we know that some of its causes, as, for instance, farmers' daughters acting as servant girls in Blankville, were in operation before 1875.

Another important change is a decrease in the density of the population of the rural districts and an increase in that of Blankville. Table IX shows these changes, revealing a decrease in all rural districts excepting L—— road and Five Corners. This decrease did not begin until after

TABLE IX.[1]

Neighborhood.	Number of Inhabitants per Square Mile.	
	1845.	1900.
Blankville	535.3	956.0
The Center	76.3	58.7
Blankwell	75.5	43.4
M—— Road	31.8	12.0
P—— Valley	64.0	46.0
C—— Corners	45.7	23.9
E—— Hill	28.0	17.0
S—— Hollow	39.0	35.0
C—— Road	40.0	26.3
L—— Road	22.9	25.5
Five Corners	30.5	32.3
W—— Hill	35.5	20.3
Rural Blanktown	39.6	31.1
Blanktown	72.1	75.0

1875, for, in that year, the density of the rural population of the town was 50.1, as against 39.6 in 1845 and 31.1 in 1900. The decrease in density between 1845 and 1900 is due largely to a decrease in the size of families. Thus, in 1845, the average number in each rural family was 5.1, as against 3.7 in 1900. This decrease is more than enough to account for the decrease in density, it being partly neutralized by the increase in the number of families. Taking the town as a whole, the average number in each family in 1845 was 5.3, in 1875 4.6, in 1900 3.4. Thus the decrease in the size of families has

[1] The population of Blanktown, as a whole, was 2,272 in 1845, 2,913 in 1875 and 2,318 in 1900.

been almost the same in the village as in the rural population, but this has been so neutralized by the increase in the number of families as to yield a slight increase in density between 1845 and 1900. The reason for the general decrease in the size of families is evident when we consider the age distribution of the population. According to the census of 1845 the number of children in the town between the ages of five and sixteen years per one thousand of the population was 245, while in 1875 there were 196 children between the ages of five and fourteen years, and, in 1900, 150.

Important changes in the social population are, therefore, a decrease in the degree of kinship within the neighborhood and an increase between the rural districts and Blankville; a decrease in the size of families due to a decrease in the number of children in each family; a decrease in the density of the rural population, and an increase in that of the village. These changes tended toward a disintegration of neighborhood association, and some of them, particularly the increase of the degree of kinship between the rural districts and Blankville, to a development of town association.

From the first not all the twelve neighborhoods had been equally important. Up to 1820 the main line of communication with the outer world was the turnpike road which stretched east and west through Blanktown, passing through P—— Valley, C—— Corners, The Center and C—— Road. Up to this time The Center was the important distributing centre of the town—much more important than Blankville—which was contemptuously called "The Huddle," although it had previously been given its present name. Not only as a distributing centre was it more prosperous than Blankville, but also as the place where town meeting and the town court were held, where the majority of the people attended church and where a considerable number of children attended a "select school." After the building of the railroad the main line of traffic changed from the road extending east and west to that one extending north and south through the town from Blankwell, through

The Center to Blankville, which was connected by a stage road with X——, twenty-two miles distant, the nearest shipping port on the railroad. From this time Blankville rapidly increased in importance over The Center, so that, before 1845, it had come to be regarded as the centre of what comparatively unimportant town interests there were in those early days.

The growth of town association first became noticeable in connection with certain economic changes, one of the most important of which was the emigration of the artisan from the rural districts into Blankville. Table X gives the number of artisans in each neighborhood in 1825, 1845, 1875 and 1900 who worked at their trade solely or in addition to farming. The table shows that the number of artisans in 1875 and 1900 was only about one-fourth the number in 1825 and 1845. Thus, many farmers who, up to 1845, had their sap-buckets made or their harness mended in their own neighborhood, were obliged to have this done in Blankville. While there on such errands they became accustomed to drop into the store or the saloon where they made new acquaintances, which, in turn, attracted them to the village still more frequently. Thus the emigration of the skilled artisan set in motion a process of differentiation. One farmer, when he was no longer able to have his harness mended by his neighbor, mended it himself rather than waste half a day in "going to town." Another seized upon the broken harness as an excuse to go to town; and, the more often he went, the more unlike his more persistent neighbor he became.

Another important economic change which furthered the development of town association was the disappearance of small manufacturing industries from the rural districts. This change began soon after 1845, and its effects were similar to those of the emigration of the artisan. Table XI represents the number of manufacturing industries, taverns and stores in each neighborhood in 1825, 1845, 1875 and 1900. It is evident that in 1875 and 1900 there was in the rural districts less than one-half the number of manufacturing enterprises

TABLE X.

Neighborhood.	1825.							1845.								1875.							1900.						
	Carpenter.	Cobbler.	Wagon-maker.	Cooper.	Blacksmith.	Shingle-maker.	Clock-mender.	Carpenter.	Cobbler.	Wagon-maker.	Cooper.	Blacksmith.	Shingle-maker.	Clock-mender.	Harness-maker.	Carpenter.	Cobbler.	Wagon-maker.	Cooper.	Blacksmith.	Clock-mender.	Harness-maker.	Carpenter.	Cobbler.	Wagon-maker.	Cooper.	Blacksmith.	Clock-mender.	Harness-maker.
Blankville.....	2	1	1	..	1	1	..	3	2	1	..	2	..	1	..	6	3	1	1	4	2	3	7	3	1	..	3	2	2
The Center.....	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	2	2	1	1	2	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	2	..	..	1	1	1	..	2	..	..
Blankwell.....	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
M—— Road.....	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
P—— Valley	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C—— Corners...	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E—— Hill.....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
S—— Hollow....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C—— Road.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
L—— Road.....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
W—— Hill.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Five Corners.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

of 1825 and only one-half the number of 1845. The disappearance of small factories destroyed rural independence. The neighborhood no longer prepared its own lumber nor spun its own garments, but must go to Blankville for its consumers' goods. In this connection the increase in the number of stores in Blankville is significant—there were twice as many in 1875 as in 1845 and twice as many in 1900 as in 1875. Blankville increased in importance not only as a distributing centre, but also as a shipping port, for, with the disappearance of the neighborhood factory, the farmer must haul his produce to Blankville for shipment. Town association tended to still further predominate when, before 1875, Blankville had become the commercial centre of the all-absorbing hop industry, and, as such, usurped the function of the neighborhood store or tavern as the farmers' congregating place.

Cooperating with these economic changes, which gradually made Blankville an industrial centre, were certain other changes which tended to make it also a centre for cultural activity. In 1855 a weekly town paper, the Blankville *Times,* was started, and from that time the social and religious activity of the village has been more thoroughly advertised than that of the rural districts and regarded throughout the town as of chief importance. After 1860 all the religious societies of the town had their places of meeting in Blankville, and, in 1874, the village became the meeting place of the Grange Society, in which centered the pleasure activity of the rural districts. Then came a remarkable increase of pleasure activity of all sorts, to be described in Part II, all of it centering in Blankville. In 1871 a new public school building was completed whither the town youth came thereafter to finish their education begun in the rural district schools. In 1873 Blankville became an incorporated village. Since Blankville is the district where, after 1875, the sociological activity of Blanktown centered as well as because our sources for 1875-1900 are fuller for the village than for rural Blanktown, we shall, in Part II, centre

TABLE XI.

| Neighborhood. | 1825. | | |

our attention on the former, studying the rural parts mainly for the light they throw on social activity centering in Blankville.

The growing town association gave rise to certain processes of social differentiation, which, in turn, caused a still further development of town association. Inequality in wealth possessed by the different families of the neighborhood had gradually increased, but, so long as well-to-do farmers had accumulated their wealth by the sweat of their brows and, while enjoying more comforts than did their poorer brethren, approved of essentially the same standard of living, that is, of a standard of physical activity rather than of receptive sensation, each and all still felt toward the other that hearty fellow-feeling which had united all families of the neighborhood in the early days (Chapter IV). They still enjoyed gathering in the store or tavern on winter evenings and indulging in the old-time play of wit and humor. With the advent of a younger generation, however, who attended school or spent their time playing billiards in Blankville, the old-time neighborhood good will gradually disappeared. The same change took place among the female portion of the population. While housewives did their own housework, all, rich and poor, were alike subject to the common lot of daily work. If there were more than enough girls in one family to do the work and no girls in a neighbor's family, one of the former would work in the latter family, not as a servant girl, however, but as a member of the family. After the building of the railroad in 1867, however, young Irish women began to be imported as servant girls in the well-to-do families, thus giving the housewife leisure for "dressing up" and calling among her neighbors and for visiting outside the neighborhood.[1] This tended

[1] The standard of living of each generation has tended to rise above that of the preceding generation. Thus the parents remark to the newly married couple: "If we had had what you have when we set up housekeeping, we should have felt quite aristocratic." Not until 1875, however, was the standard of living raised by such leaps and bounds as to cause a corresponding differentiation of social classes. Since then there has tended to be a progressive differentiation of social classes in each generation, a part of the population being raised by their parents into a higher social class and a part remaining in the class in which they were born.

to emphasize economic inequality, which, however, did not destroy the old-time sociability until there came a younger generation brought up in comparative idleness and ignorance as to household duties. An old resident tells how she once called on some young ladies who had just returned from an extended visit. She found them lying down and never called again, not proposing to waste her time "calling on people who went to bed in the daytime." There is, to-day, little social visiting in the rural parts of Blanktown. At The Center there is one old resident who, once a year, calls on most of the families in the neighborhood, regarding it as her duty to preserve the traditions of old-time sociability.

Social classes owe their origin, therefore, not only to differences in wealth, but also to differences in individual character. Owing to the emigration westward or cityward of the more forceful youth of the social population, the rising generation of Blankville tended increasingly to enjoy pleasures of receptive sensation rather than pleasures of physical activity, including physical labor. Inherited wealth made possible the enjoyment of sensational pleasures, and more intimate association with the outside world made pleasure-lovers acquainted with more varied kinds of pleasure. The richer indulged in pleasures which their poorer neighbors could not afford, and then it was that the social classes began to emerge. These classes depended on like economic status only as the latter enabled individuals of like tastes to associate in the enjoyment of like pleasures. Enjoyment of like pleasures thus depended, fundamentally, not on like economic status, but on likeness of individual character. The families of a neighborhood were, in many cases, of nearly the same economic status, yet as social life came to centre more and more in Blankville, the neighborhood broke up into district social classes formed along town lines. Rural individuals of predominantly religious interests associated with persons of like religious views in Blankville. Pleasure-loving individuals, in like manner, associated with a similar class in Blankville. Both types of character, particu-

larly the latter, were subdivided along lines of economic status, pleasure enjoyment varying according to ability to gratify it. The line of cleavage between these two fundamental classes is best seen in the history of the Grange society. This was formed in 1874, and in that year included in its membership representatives from nine of the twelve neighborhoods. Of its seventy-one members, only seventeen were church members. This organization was and has continued to be, throughout the second period, *the* society of the pleasure-loving class of Blanktown. The self-denying or religious class has intrenched itself in the churches and will have none of the Grange. From the time of the organization of the Grange the pleasure activity of Blanktown centered in Blankville. Thus town association, centering in Blankville, caused the rural population to imitate village pleasures, and this furthered the differentiation of the families of the neighborhood into social classes formed not along neighborhood but along town lines of social cleavage.

Significant of the growing town association is the fact that Blanktown early began to show a consciousness of its own integrity and to display a friendly rivalry with neighboring towns. Thus in the Blankville *Times* of 1865 we find a long argument to prove that Flora, a fast trotting horse, was foaled in Blanktown and not in a neighboring town as was claimed; also a statement that "Blanktown has the largest continuous pasture land in the state." In 1859 the *Times* has the following upon the relative importance of the town and the county fair: "Some regard the county fair as worthy of the most liberal support," but the consensus of opinion is that in our first town fair "we beat the county fair all hollow."

While the neighborhoods were becoming more closely associated with Blankville, the entire town was becoming more closely associated with the outer world. Prior to 1867 the only means of communication between Blanktown and the outside world were the public highways, most important of which was the stage road extending from Blankville to X. Journeys to points outside the town were rare. Occasionally, after the

crops were harvested, a farmer made a long journey with his family in a lumber wagon, sometimes going two hundred miles. The building of the railroad, however, marks an epoch in the development of communication and association with the outer world. After this event we note a gradual increase in the number of advertisements of retail stores of the city of X in the Blankville *Times,* and of invectives against those who do not patronize the home merchants. Thus began the custom of "running out to X for a day's shopping," which, as we shall see (Part II, Chapter IV), was the most characteristic phase of the traveling activity of Blanktown during the second period. Cooperating with increasing facilities of communication in leading Blanktown into association with the outside world was the growing importance of the hop industry. The cultivation of hops began in Blankville in 1835, and thence spreading to The Center and to the remoter districts, had become before 1870 the chief agricultural industry of Blanktown. This change from a varied agriculture, where the farmer produced chiefly for his own family, to production for a world market broadened the farmer's interest in the world at large. For over a decade after 1875 the majority of the farmers habitually read the quotation of prices of the markets of this country and Europe as published in the Blankville *Times,* and incidentally read other news items, home and foreign. Part II will be devoted to an analysis of this epoch-making economic change and its correlated sociological transformations.

Only one neighborhood in Blanktown has stood out against the growing predominance of town association and maintained throughout its history a distinct social consciousness. Blankwell remains to-day a neighborhood association. A little community by itself, it exhibits a marked contrast to The Center, which, though also a rural hamlet, long ago lost its consciousness of its integrity in its larger relation as part of the town association. The fundamental reason for Blankwell's exception to the general trend of social development will be given in

Part II, Chapter XV. We shall confine ourselves here to an analysis of those phases of Blankwell's neighborhood life which will proximately account for her unique development. Among them one of the most important is the isolation of the hamlet as compared with the other hamlet, The Center. Blankwell is much more remote than The Center both from the outside world and from Blankville. Thus the railroad, which was built through Blanktown in 1867, touched at The Center with a station at that place, but not at Blankwell, the nearest railroad station being two miles away in the town south of Blanktown. Furthermore, The Center is one mile from Blankville, while Blankwell is three and one-half miles distant. Thus, while Blankville is too far away from Blankwell to be reached ordinarily by walking, the people of The Center walk to Blankville to church or to a party or to the theatre, and their children walk to the village school. Hence Blankwell has taken a less active part in the cultured life of Blankville than has The Center, and has maintained, as will be shown, a distinct pleasure and religious activity.

Another reason for the persistence of the old neighborhood life is the fact that the inhabitants of Blankwell have been more intimately related by kinship during the second period than have those of any other part of Blanktown. Over two-thirds of the families in 1900 were related to some other family in the same neighborhood, while less than one-half of the families of any other neighborhood were so related. Not only in kinship but also in nationality, Blankwell has been remarkably homogeneous. In 1845 there were seven foreign-born persons in the hamlet; in 1900 only three (two Irish, one English), representing two families. These two families lived on the outskirts, not in the hamlet proper. Thus Blankwell is practically wholly American and has been so during its entire history. Blankwell has been less disturbed by immigration and emigration than has any other neighborhood. It is the only one in which over one-half the heads of families living there

in 1900 had resided there since 1875. Not over one-fourth the heads of families living in The Center in 1900 had lived there since 1875.

Cooperating with this strong resemblance in essential characteristics, we find an exceptional equality in amount of wealth possessed. In 1845, 85 per cent, and in 1874 and 1900, 59 per cent to 60 per cent of the householders of Blankwell were taxpayers. Of these, 78 per cent in 1845, 73 per cent in 1875 and 61 per cent in 1900 were taxed for less than $1,000, and the remaining 22 per cent in 1845, 27 per cent in 1874 and 39 per cent in 1900 were taxed for less than $2,500. Economic equality has been greater during the period 1845-1900 than in any other neighborhood of Blanktown.

One of the results of Blankwell's separateness is the maintenance of a distinct religious activity. Prior to 1847 the different sects had attempted to join in building a meeting-house, but had been unable to work together long enough to raise the requisite amount of money. The revival of 1847 so united all sects, however, Baptists, Methodists and Unitarians, that a meeting-house was built (called a Methodist Church because the Methodists were in majority), where Sunday services were held regularly until 1860, and intermittently after that time. In The Center church, however, no services have been held since about 1860, owing to the fact that those who desire to attend church walk or ride to the Blankville churches. Not only has Blankwell maintained its own religious activity, but this activity has been similar to that of the early days. The function of religion has remained, as in the first period, the sanctioning of self-denial. Among the strongest indications of the persistence of the old-time neighborhood life in Blankwell, during the second period, is the continuing social approval of self-denial as against the self-indulgence of the rest of Blanktown (Part II, Chapter XIV). With due allowance for the tendency of Blankwell people to follow after strange doctrines (Chapter XV), the fact remains that their religion was in the second period what it was throughout Blanktown in the

first, namely, the sanctioning of customs of self-denial (Chapter XIV). It is in the matter of liquor-drinking that the self-denying disposition of our hamlet is most strongly contrasted with the self-indulgence of The Center. During the temperance movement of 1840-45, a large majority of the inhabitants of Blankwell were converted to total abstinence and the saloon of the hamlet was closed. Since that time a saloon was supported intermittently until 1896, after which there has been none. As an old resident said: "We pride ourselves on the fact that all the inhabitants of this hamlet are total abstainers. A saloon could not live here because no one would patronize it." Much different has been the history of The Center, where the saloon (at certain periods two saloons) always has been well patronized.

We turn now to a second result of Blankwell's separateness, namely, the maintenance of a distinct pleasure activity. Unlike The Center, Blankwell always has been averse to the "new-fangled" pleasure activity of Blankville. The dancing, card-playing and theatre-going crazes did not reach Blankwell, the population regarding the excesses of the village folks with great contempt. Blankwell took no part, as did The Center, in the building of the driving park (Part II, Chapter VII). The roller-skating craze (Part II, Chapter VI) is the sole instance of an imitation of Blankville activity, and it is a significant fact that Blankwell had its own rink while The Center used the village rink. The difference between the attitude of the two hamlets to village conviviality is seen in their relations to the Grange Society. It was understood by those who joined the Grange Society during the first four or five years of its existence that it was to be exclusively a farmers' organization and that one of its main functions was to secure farmers' supplies at wholesale prices. However, no attempt was made to buy goods at wholesale prices, and after a few years, it was voted to receive village people into membership. Thereupon nine of the eleven Blankwell members of the Grange withdrew from the society "because," as one of its members said, "after

Blankville people began to be received into membership the old-time social life disappeared." The attitude of the farmers of The Center toward the admission of Blankville people was quite different, they being in favor of that policy. The people of Blankwell have taken no part in the activity of the Grange but, instead, have instituted a chapter of the Patrons of Industry (1894) in which over one-half the families have been represented and which, up to 1900, carried out the abortive Grange scheme of running a store where members might obtain goods at wholesale prices. The pleasure activity of the Patrons consisted of old-fashioned socials where, occasionally, there was card-playing and dancing, but these always subordinate to the supper and old-time amusements. In these socials a larger proportion of the families of the community participate than is the case in any social function held at The Center. Certain functions, as a wedding anniversary, are attended by practically all the inhabitants of the hamlet.[1]

In political activity the two hamlets show characteristic differences, Blankwell remaining true to the methods of the early days. This is evident in comparing the management of the district schools. At The Center the small Irish and the large American taxpayers are nearly equal numerically, a situation not conducive to harmonious cooperation, and more than once the cause of conflict. The most notable conflict occurred in 1894 over the question of building a new schoolhouse, the Irishmen favoring the project because they had many children and paid a small tax, the Americans opposing it because they had few children and paid a large tax. The project was broached unexpectedly at the annual school meeting and decided by vote favorably, the Irish faction having, by preconcerted action, come out in full force and taken the Americans unawares. At a later meeting the Americans appeared in

[1] A primitive form of amusement which persists at Blankwell is swinging. The double wooden swing has recently made its appearance in Blanktown, and of these there was one at The Center and nine at Blankwell in 1902. The larger number at Blankwell is not due to a larger number of children, but to the fact that the people enjoy swinging more than do The Center people.

full force and, rescinding the previous vote, voted down the project. Since then the Americans have avoided a conflict by keeping representatives on the board of trustees in the majority and by transacting as little business as possible in open meeting, thus "leaving it to the trustees." In Blankwell there is no record of any conflict. On the contrary, one is impressed on comparing the records of Blankwell school meetings with those of other districts, with the way business is transacted in open meeting, the trustee or special committee being given instructions as to the smallest details. Here, also, there is no effort to keep the office of trustee in the hands of two or three prominent taxpayers, a larger proportion of resident taxpayers having held the office during the period 1875-1900 than has been the case at The Center.

The fundamental difference between Blankwell and The Center is well illustrated by the attitude of the two hamlets toward the introduction of a rural mail delivery service. When this project was discussed in the summer of 1900, the sole objection encountered at The Center was that, by removing the post-office from The Center to the more remote village whence the mail would be distributed, only one mail a day would be received, whereas, with the post-office in their midst, there would be four mails daily. A similar objection was raised by Blankwell, but, in addition, another was expressed by one old resident as follows: "We don't want a rural delivery here, because it is contrary to our democratic principles. We want the people here to come to the post-office for their mail and to meet each other there in a friendly way and so perpetuate the good feeling of our hamlet."

Thus far in the social development of Blanktown, we have discovered two sets of changes, which, with reference to their relation to the individual, may be called external and internal:

1. Increasing facilities of communication and economic changes have caused rearrangements of the social population of Blanktown, resulting, in general, in more intimate communication and association. The increasing intimacy of association

has not, however, affected all neighborhoods to the same extent, some having been linked more closely than others to each other and to the outer world. Economic well-being, in general, has increased and has enlarged the opportunity for social activity. This increase has been great in some neighborhoods, less in others, and in still others there has been no increase, but rather a decrease.

2. Internal or cultural changes have been greatest among that part of the population, the individuals of which were most intimately associated among themselves and most closely linked to the outer world. But individuals who have been equally affected by the increased intimacy of communication and association and by increased economic well-being have not developed the same cultured activity. Some have reacted to one imitative influence and others to another. The course of social development has been determined by the nature of the reacting individuals prior to the external changes. In Part II we shall endeavor to point out what part has been played in the social development of Blanktown during 1875-1900 by external changes and what part by previously existing differences in the character of the social population.

Part II

The Social Development of Blanktown in 1875-1900.

CHAPTER I.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF BLANKTOWN DURING THE SECOND PERIOD.

Our sources permit an analysis of the occupations of the social population only in the years 1874 and 1900. Table XII represents that part of the population which was partially or wholly dependent upon agriculture, manufacturing, trades, commerce, professions and personal service, and that part which, owing to an independent income, was dependent upon and engaged in no occupation. In 1900 about 42.7 per cent of the population of Blanktown was dependent on agriculture, about 7.8 per cent on manufacturing, about 41.7 per cent on other occupations and about 7.8 per cent enjoyed an independent income.[1] This distribution of occupations was about the same in 1874. Agriculture, therefore, has been, during the entire history of Blanktown, the important economic activity.

We must begin, then, with an analysis of the agricultural industries. Table XIII shows the relative importance of these industries at the beginning and at the end of our period as represented by the gross income of the agricultural class. The chief industries are hop raising and the dairy, of which the former is vastly more important. Thus, in 1875 about eighty-one per cent of the total income was from the hop and sixteen per cent from the dairy industry; in 1900 the figures were

[1] In the majority of cases this income has depended partly, however, on the profits of a hop farm.

TABLE XII.

Neighborhood.	Agriculture.		Boot and Shoe Factory, Foundry, Mill, Machine Shop, Brick and Tile Factory.		Trades: Barber, Blacksmith, Cooper, Carpenter, Dressmaker, Milliner, Painter, Plumber, Harness-maker, Printer, Tailor, Wagon-maker.		Hotel, Boarding-house, Saloon, Store, Office, and Other Commercial Establishments.		Professions: Lawyer, Teacher, Physician, Clergyman, Public Officials.		House-servants, Coachmen, Men-of-all-work.		Individuals without Occupation and with Independent Incomes.	
	1874	1900	1874	1900	1874	1900	1874	1900	1874	1900	1874	1900	1874	1900
Five hill neighborhoods..	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Six valley neighborhoods.	84.7	85.9	8.4	7.4	.8	1.9	2.1	2.3	1.1	0	2.4	2.2	.5	.3
Blankville.....	*	6.6	15.7	10.7	15.3	12.1	*	23.5	*	5.1	*	29.9	*	12.1
Blanktown.....	56.1	42.7	8.3	7.8	9.4	8.3	*	15.4	*	3.5	*	14.5	*	7.8

fifty-seven per cent for hops and thirty-seven per cent for the dairy. From 1880 to 1896 the income from the hop industry was greater than in 1875 and vastly greater than in 1900, the hop area having been greatly reduced since 1896 (Chapter XII). We may conclude, therefore, that, for at least twenty of the twenty-six years of our period, the income from the hop industry has constituted, on the average, four-fifths of the gross income of the agricultural class.

TABLE XIII.

Period.	Value of Beef, Pork, Veal, Mutton, Wool, Eggs and Poultry Sold.	Value of Milk, Butter and Cheese Sold.	Value of Hops Sold.
1875.....	$7,514.00	$47,520.00	$236,835.00
1900.....	9,740.00	51,600.00	80,775.00

To the net profit the hop crop has contributed even more largely than to the gross income. About sixty-six per cent of the income from the hop crop of 1875 was net profit, as against twenty-six per cent for dairy products. In 1900 the figure was about twenty-five per cent for both the hop crop and the dairy product. In general, we may say that, during at least twenty of the twenty-six years of the period 1875-1900, the profits of the hop industry, dollar for dollar, have averaged much greater than the profits of the dairy.

The hop industry is most important not only for the agricultural class as a whole, but also for each farmer. From 1875 to 1895 hop raising was the chief occupation of at least ninety-two per cent of the farmers of Blanktown. After 1895 the percentage decreased to about eighty-five per cent in 1900. We may conclude that during our period the prosperity of the agricultural class has depended largely on the hop industry.

Recurring, now, to Table XII, we note that two classes of occupations, namely, the agricultural and manufacturing classes, produce largely for a world market, while the remaining occupations produce largely for a local market. Variations

in the prosperity of the farmer affect the factory hand very slightly as compared with their effect upon the trades class, the commercial class, the professional class and the class engaged in personal service. Furthermore, the effect upon these classes producing for a local market of the prosperity of the farmer is much greater than that of the prosperity of the factory hand owing to the greater numerical importance of the agricultural class. A failure of crops or a fall in the price of agricultural products has tended to decrease the demand for the products of tradesmen, for the goods of the storekeeper, for the services of house servants, and, in at least one instance, to reduce the salary of the minister. We conclude that the well-being both of those dependent on agriculture and also of those dependent on other occupations, except manufacturing, representing, altogether, over three-fourths of the inhabitants of Blankville and over five-sixths of the entire population of Blanktown, has depended, predominately, on the hop industry. Thus, variations in the prosperity of the hop industry will serve as an index of the economic prosperity of Blanktown during our period.

Having narrowed our problem of economic development to that of the development of the hop industry, let us see if we can not narrow it still further. The profits of the hop industry in any one year depend upon two factors, the yield per acre and the selling price. With the exception of the years 1878, 1879 and 1885, when the yield was very heavy, and 1886, when the crop was a total failure, the yearly yield per acre for the whole town has been fairly uniform. The total product may, then, be taken as a fixed quantity. It is the selling price, therefore, which serves as an index of economic prosperity. This, in spite of the uniformity in the quantity produced, has fluctuated enormously during our period. That these fluctuations have been practically independent of Blanktown's yield is evident from the fact that in 1886, when the town crop was a total failure, the average selling price was only twelve cents per pound, while in 1892 and 1893, when there was a large

town crop, the average selling price was twenty-six cents per pound. The selling price seems, therefore, to be largely independent of the quantity produced within the town, and, this being fairly uniform during our period, we may regard the profits of the hop industry as fluctuating with the price of hops.

Thus, the selling price of hops furnishes a convenient numerical index of the economic prosperity of Blanktown during our period. The two exigencies which would invalidate this use of the selling price are variations in the quantity of hops produced and variations in the prosperity of those not dependent on the hop industry, namely, the manufacturing class. These variations, in those few instances where they have occurred, so coincide with the variation in the selling price of hops as to exaggerate the general effect of the latter. Thus, the period of 1879-1884 was, as we shall see, one of unprecedented high prices in the hop industry and, in this period, the crop was fair, in 1879 unusually heavy. In 1885, also, it was very heavy, thus neutralizing, in part, the low prices of that year, so that the period of prosperity may be said to extend through 1885. After 1886, when the crop was a total failure, the yield per acre was fairly uniform, thus rendering the comparative yearly profits dependent on the selling price. Changes in the prosperity of the manufacturing class likewise have so coincided with variations in the profits of the hop industry as to exaggerate their general effects. Only two significant changes have occurred in the history of the manufacturing class. In 1883 a tannery was erected in Blankville and the manufacturing class increased by from fifty to seventy-five persons. In 1893 the tannery closed down permanently, resulting in the emigration of some seventy-five individuals. There have been no great variations in the wages received by the manufacturing class, so that, excepting the changes in 1883 and 1893, the prosperity of that class may be regarded as a fixed quantity. Thus the presence of a manufacturing class, which is independent of the hop indus-

try, does not invalidate the use of the selling price of hops as an index of general prosperity. We are not trying to prove that the economic development of Blanktown has depended altogether on the hop industry, but that, depending fundamentally thereon, conditions in other industries happen to be such as to make it possible to measure the general prosperity from year to year with a fair degree of accuracy by the selling price of hops. What we want to know is, is this year more or less prosperous than the last? Our purpose is served by the selling price of hops with the trend of which variations in the prosperity of other industries, when they occur, coincide.

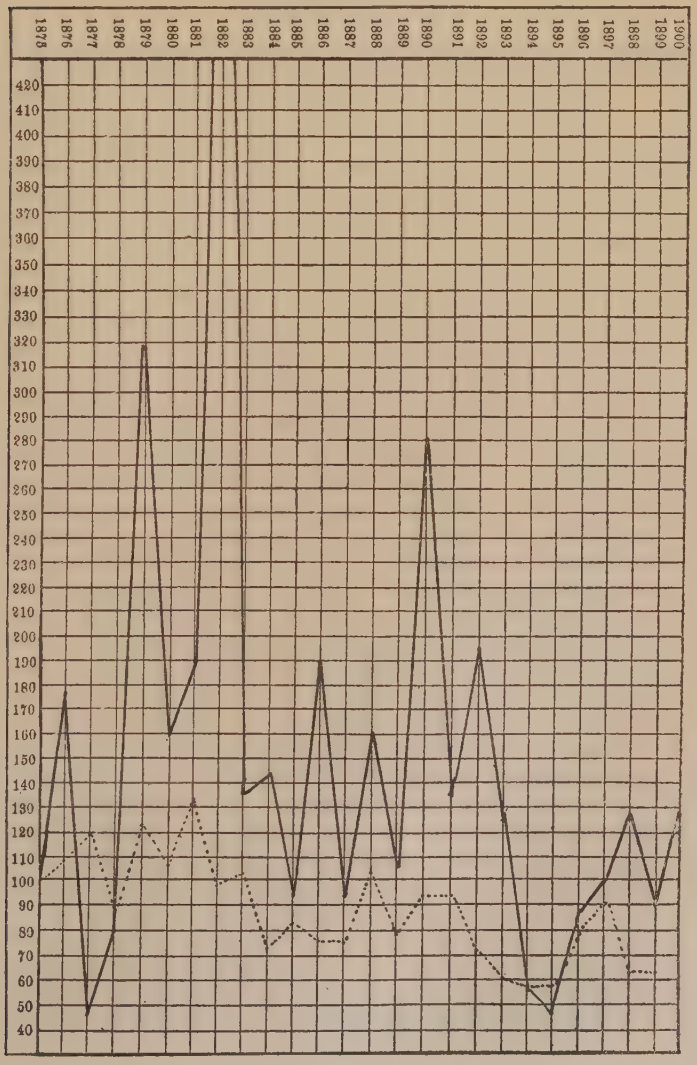
Turning now to hop raising, which largely has determined economic prosperity, we find that the most important characteristic of the selling price of hops is its tendency to fluctuate, often enormously, from year to year. This is evident from a comparison with the selling prices of wheat. In Chart I are compared the fluctuations in the prices paid the farmer for their hops by the brokers of Blankville (unbroken curve) with the fluctuations in the prices of wheat (dotted curve). The price of hops per pound and of wheat per bushel on December 1, 1875, is taken as 100, and upon this base has been calculated the relative increase or decrease in the price of each commodity on December 1 of each year. The tremendous fluctuations of the unbroken as compared with the dotted curve show how much greater have been the variations in the price of hops.[1]

The chart shows that the period of greatest prosperity was 1879-84 and the period of greatest depression was 1894-97. The period of 1890-1893 was also very prosperous. The period 1879-84 is, however, the important one for the study of the effect of economic prosperity on sociological activity. At this time many farmers sold their hop crop at from 400 per cent to 700 per cent net profit, and found themselves enriched

[1] The figures for hops were obtained from dealers in Blankville. The figures for wheat were obtained from the Report of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1899, page 760.

by $5,000 to $15,000 in cash, to say nothing of the increased value of their land. This unprecedented prosperity filled

CHART I.



the entire population with most buoyant spirits, in many cases with the wildest expectations. Blanktown was felt to have a great future before it. Appealing to this spirit, the new editor of the Blankville *Times,* in 1881, said, in declaring the policy on which the paper should be conducted: "Special pains will be taken with our local hop market. Blankville being the centre of one of the largest hop-growing districts in the world, we shall endeavor to make the *Times* an established authority on all matters relating to hops from week to week. It is within the power of our readers to make Blankville what it should be, the leading hop market of this country." In the same edition Blankville is referred to, in an article signed "Citizen," as the "great hop-growing centre of the state, with natural and material resources beyond those of most villages of its size; with churches, schools, opera house and local organizations—the peer of any village in the state." There are numerous outbursts of this sort during the period 1879-84, showing that the town was intoxicated with its prosperity and regarded the same as due entirely to the hop crop and as only a beginning of greater things.

Our study of the social development of Blanktown will be confined to a study of the interaction of social and socializing forces within the town. We do not thereby ignore the action of outside forces. If there had been nothing remarkable in the economic development of Blanktown in 1875-1900, as distinguished from other New York towns, still we should have witnessed an increase in social activity along the lines on which this activity did actually increase. Hence the social changes which will be traced are a part of a wider extra town development. They have, however, certain peculiar phases due to the action of certain local causes, chief of which is a unique economic development acting as a stimulus upon a population of a peculiar type of character. It is these local causes rather than the trend of general social development upon which we shall centre our attention, and in the light of which we shall endeavor to explain the social development of Blanktown.

CHAPTER II.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION AND ASSOCIATION WITHIN THE TOWN.

We shall take up, in the present chapter, the development of association referred to in the last chapter of Part I, namely, the development of town association, presenting a statistical analysis of this process and showing its correlation, at certain points, with economic prosperity. The development of town association is intimately connected with the growth of Blankville, with which, therefore, we shall begin. The sources for this study are:

1. Census records of Blankville for 1873 to 1900, inclusive, with the exception of the years 1875, 1876, 1883 and 1884. Each of these censuses was taken before May 1 of each year, so that they may be regarded as giving the population of Blankville as it was at or near the beginning of the year specified.

2. The census of the state for 1875, the censuses of the United States for 1880 and 1890, and the census of Blanktown taken by the author in May, 1900. These sources give the population of Blanktown for 1875, 1880, 1890 and 1900. The population for other years may be interpolated.[1]

[1] At this point our investigation is complicated by the fact that part of Blankville (about one-fifth of one square mile) lies in the town to the north of Blanktown. In order to ascertain the population of the total area we must:

1. Add to the population of Blanktown for 1875, 1880, 1890 and 1900 that part of the population of Blankville which lies in the town to the north.

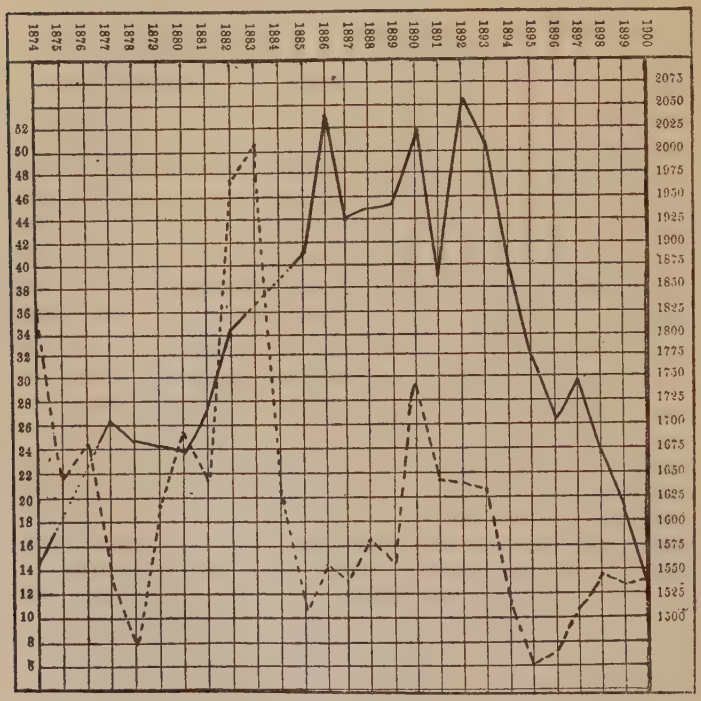
2. Subtract from these figures the population of Blankville for the respective year. The resulting figures give the population of the rural part of Blanktown for the years 1875, 1880, 1890, 1900.

3. Interpolate by the usual method the population of the rural part of Blanktown for the years 1875-1900.

4. Add to each member of the resultant series the population of Blankville (including that part of the village which lies in the town to the north) for the corresponding year. This gives us the population

Turning now to the study of the relation of economic prosperity to the development of association, Chart II correlates

CHART II.



with the yearly population of Blankville the fluctuations in the selling price of hops during our period. The unbroken curve, based on the figures at the right, represents the number of the population, its dotted portions indicating the years for which we interpolate. The dash curve, based upon the figures at the left, represents the average price of hops for the

of our area of investigation, namely, Blanktown plus that part of the town to the north lying within the corporation of Blankville.

By interpolating in this way the population of the area which we are to study, we eliminate the uncertainty of simple interpolation, because the larger part of the figures for each year is taken from records actually at hand, namely, the census records of Blankville.

year specified. This average price of hops is obtained by striking the average of the selling prices for the first and the fifteenth day of each month from September to March, inclusive. The average for this period is more accurate than the average for the whole year, because practically all the hops produced in Blanktown are sold between September and March.

The rise in the population curve from 1881 to 1886 is due to an increase both of the manufacturing and the agricultural classes from fifty to seventy-five in each. Immigration of the former class came wholly from outside the town, while a considerable part of the latter came from the rural districts of Blanktown. This class, elated by the unprecedented prosperity of 1879-1884, immigrated to Blankville with the purpose of devoting their energies to the selling of their crops and enjoying the larger life opportunities afforded by the closer association of the village. Their immigration was accompanied by an ingress of servant girls and other attachés of the leisure class. The fall of the curve, beginning in 1894, is due to the exodus of numbers of the manufacturing class, to the return of farmers to their farms and to the emigration of persons dependent on these classes for their livelihood.

The immigration of retired farmers into Blankville from the rural districts of Blanktown began as early as 1885, when a family immigrated from The Center. Up to 1874, however, such immigrations were rare. In 1874-75 five families immigrated, in 1876-78 no families, in 1879-83 ten, in 1884-89 one, in 1890-93 seven, and in 1894-1900 two families. Thus, two-fifths of the families who immigrated into Blankville came during the first period of prosperity (six of them in 1883) and about one-fourth during the second period of prosperity. This course of internal migration is the reverse of that generally observed.[1] Population has tended to flow countryward with enlarging agricultural opportunities and cityward with

[1] Weber, "Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century." Pages 24-26.

the growth of commercial and manufacturing enterprises. To be sure, the immigration of farmers into Blankville was encouraged by the growing commercial activity of the village, but its chief cause was the desire for larger opportunities for pleasure, not work. There were other internal migratory movements at this time, one of them along the line generally observed, that is, an emigration to the rural districts where agricultural opportunities exceeded the manufacturing and commercial opportunities of the village. But the dominant movement was villageward.

As to their place of emigration, the immigrants were pretty evenly distributed among the eleven rural districts. Five families were from The Center, two from Five Corners, two from S—— Hollow, two from P—— Valley, two from Blankwell, five from E—— Hill, two from C—— Corners, and one from L—— road, M—— road and C—— road. Thus, the immigrants were scattered farmers, drawn to the common centre of attraction by forces other than previous proximity. An analysis of the forces which combined to give rise to this peculiar and exceptional migratory movement will be given in the last chapter of Part II. The analysis there given will justify the conclusion that economic prosperity differentiated the inhabitants of the rural districts into two classes, a predominately persistent and a predominately sensational class. The latter, which enjoyed, primarily, pleasures of receptive sensation, immigrated into Blankville, while the former, which enjoyed, primarily, pleasures of physical activity or of emotional ideation, "pulled down their barns and built greater." Thus the village selected the sensational, the rural districts the persistent types of character.

The immigration into Blankville caused a number of houses and stores to be built.[1] In 1874-78 fourteen houses were built, in 1879-84 fifty-five houses, in 1885-89 twenty-two houses, in

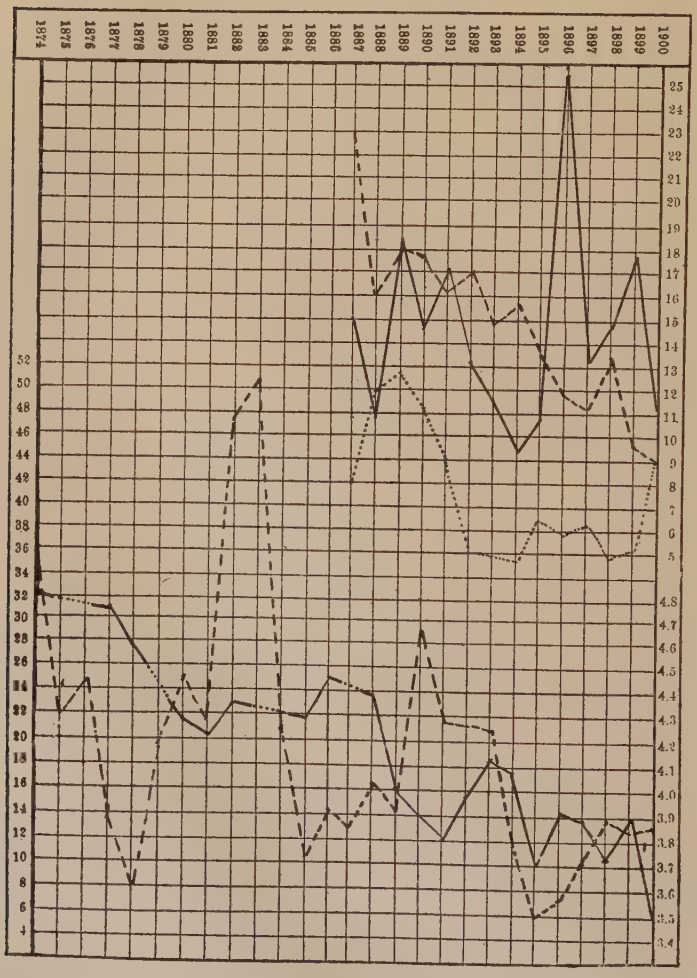
[1] The chief sources for this investigation were the personal testimony of villagers and the ledgers of two builders and one mason, all of whom have lived in Blanktown during our period and were employed upon a large number of the houses erected.

1890-93 twelve houses, in 1894-1900 five houses. Over one-half the houses built during the entire period were built in the period of prosperity—over one-fourth of them in one year, 1884. They were erected not only by or for the occupation of immigrants, but also by men of all vocations affected by the general prosperity, merchants, lawyers, physicians, factory employés and retired farmers. They were of all sizes and grades of splendor from the small tenement house to the commodious and luxurious mansion. Of stores and business blocks, six were built in 1875-78, three in 1879-83, one in 1884-89, one in 1890-93 and one in 1894-1900. The one erected in 1893 far exceeded in size and expense those built before or after that time.

Having now described the most important process in the development of town association, migration, we turn to the other process of growth, excess of births over deaths. In Chart III we have two separate series of correlations. The upper series represents the birth-rate (dash curve), death-rate (unbroken curve) and marriage rate (dotted curve) of Blankville for the years 1887-1900. It will be seen that the death-rate rises above the birth-rate in 1896 and continues above it after this year. One reason for this may be the decrease in the absolute and relative number of young married couples since 1891. Owing to the decrease in the number of children and young married people, the size of families has tended to decrease since 1874. This is evident from the unbroken curve of the lower series, based on the figures at the right, which represents the average number of persons in a family for the years specified, the dotted lines indicating the years for which we interpolate. The decline of the curve during the entire period is due not only to the increase in the number of old married couples bereft of their children, but also to an extra local, general tendency to have a smaller number of children. This decrease in the size of families is one reason for the increasing interest in social as distinguished from home pleasures (Chapter V). Parents, bereft of their children,

have accustomed themselves to seek consolation in activity outside the home. Furthermore, outside interests have be-

CHART III.



come more and more important, making domestic life, including the care of children, a burden to younger married couples.

CHAPTER III.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION AND ASSOCIATION BETWEEN BLANKTOWN AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

The second important phase of the development of association is the growing intimacy between Blanktown and the outside world. Let us take up, first, Blanktown's increasing association with neighboring towns. Our sources for this study are the files of the Blankville *Times*. Inasmuch as this paper, since 1875, has endeavored to print all interesting news items concerning neighboring communities, we can show Blanktown's increasing interest in surrounding towns by measuring the increase of local news. To make this test a valid one, it is necessary that the *Times* should have been generally read by the people of Blanktown during the last twenty-five years. It is impossible to ascertain just what proportion of the total number of families has subscribed to or has regularly read the *Times* in years previous to 1900. It is probable, however, that, owing to the egress of the land-owning class and the ingress of temporary tenant farmers, the percentage of families subscribing for the paper was at least as small in 1900 as it has been in any year since 1880. Table XIV, which shows what percentage of the total number of families of each neighborhood subscribed for the *Times* in 1900, probably represents, therefore, the minimum percentage of subscribers for 1880-1900. The proportion of the population which regularly reads the *Times* is much greater than the subscription list would indicate, owing to the fact that the same copy often circulates among several families. Therefore, much more than one-half the families of Blanktown have been regular readers of the *Times* during our period. Furthermore, the fact that a considerable percentage of the families in each neighborhood have subscribed to the *Times* (in nine

neighborhoods, at least one-half the families) shows that it is read in every part of the town.

TABLE XIV.

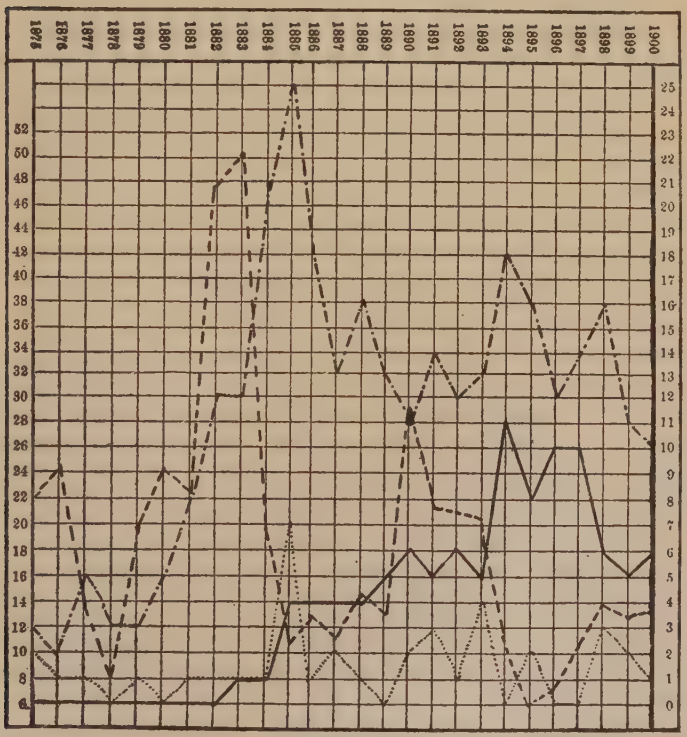
Neighborhood.	Percentage of Families Subscribing for the *Times* in 1900.
Blankville	68
The Center	60
Blankwell	50
M——— Road	63
P——— Valley	50
C——— Corners	66
E——— Hill	57
S——— Hollow	40
C——— Road	28
L——— Road	37
W——— Hill	50
Five Corners	80
Blanktown	54

Taking up, now, the study of the increase or decrease of news items, we find, in the files of 1875, a miscellaneous collection of items under the heading "County and Neighboring." Items from a particular community are not segregated in a separate column under the name of the community, but are mingled promiscuously with items from other hamlets and villages. Later, however, we find news from a community separated from other items and printed under the name of the community. It is this increasing number of communities thus recognized as distinct and interesting that we shall use as an index of the increasing intimacy of association.[1] Chart

[1] There are several reasons why the total number of communities recognized by the segregation of their news items as distinct and interesting is a better index of increasing association than the total yearly bulk of news from all communities. The chief reason is the fact that the amount printed depends on how much the editor has room for, while the number of localities from which news is printed depends largely upon social conditions. Thus the editor engages a correspondent in a new hamlet or village because he has in mind a number of subscribers who will be interested in news from that place or a number of persons to whom he believes such news will be an inducement to join his subscription list. The increase of the number of communities recognized as newsy is based, therefore, largely on sociological facts, whereas, let the community once be recognized, and the amount of printed news therefrom depends largely on private business considerations.

IV represents the number of such communities, the dot and dash curve indicating the number, news about which is segregated in at least one issue of the paper during the year, the dotted curve the number with such news items

CHART IV.



in not less than thirteen and not more than twenty-five issues, and the unbroken curve the number with news in twenty-six issues or over. These three curves are based on the figures at the right. The dash curve is the hop curve and is based on the figures at the left. We note a marked rise of the dot and dash curve in the period 1881-85. In this connection the following statement, which first appeared in the *Times*

on October 31, 1884, is significant: "We propose to make the *Times the* paper of this section . . . to add newsy letters from surrounding villages each week which will make the *Times* of peculiar interest to all in this section." The editor evidently realized that Blanktown was becoming more interested in surrounding towns and surrounding towns more interested in Blanktown, and that, in order to make the *Times* the paper of "this section," he must print news from all parts of the section. The rise of the curve, due, proximately, to the editor's ambition to enlarge his business, was due, fundamentally, therefore, to social conditions. If churches could build new parsonages, buy new organs and engage expensive choirs (Chapter VIII), if merchants could enlarge their stock and build new residences, why should not an editor aspire to enlarge the circulation of his paper? His was only one among many similar aspirations all kindled by unprecedented prosperity. The fall of the dot and dash and the dotted curves after 1885 shows that the editor ceased to print news from certain localities which he found to be of little interest to his subscribers, while the continuing rise of the unbroken curve shows an increase in the number of communities news from which was regularly printed.

The increasing association with surrounding towns was, in part, a local manifestation of a general state movement and would have occurred regardless of any peculiarity in Blanktown's economic development. The period of great prosperity tended in several ways, however, to hasten this development:

1. Farmers moved into Blankville from surrounding towns as well as from rural Blanktown. These immigrants were interested in news from their former neighbors, and the latter were curious to follow the fortunes of their old friends whose names, from time to time, appeared in the *Times*.

2. Several members of the Blankville Grange Society were residents of neighboring towns, so that Blanktown people, through their fellow Grangers, became more and more interested in the population of surrounding towns.

3. As dramatic and musical societies increased and as church choirs bloomed into choral clubs of considerable local fame, the concerts and plays given by Blanktown people in neighboring hamlets increased in number, and acquaintanceships thus formed developed into closer association. Then, too, the growing number of parties, dances and plays given in Blankville and the increasing splendor of the churches drew an increasing number of more or less regular visitors. All these forms of activity, varied and intensified by economic prosperity, tended to make Blanktown more and more intimately acquainted with neighboring towns and to lay a basis for a still wider and more varied activity.

We turn now to the study of the development of association between Blanktown and the remoter parts of the state, and also with countries lying beyond the state and the nation. The only manifestation of this phenomenon which can be studied statistically is the number of journeys made by townspeople to places more remote than neighboring communities. Our source for the number of such journeys made each year is the Blankville *Times,* which, since 1875, at least, has endeavored to record every journey made by a townsman to points beyond X——, a shopping centre twenty-two miles from Blankville. The *Times* is not an accurate register of such phenomena, but the ratio of the number of journeys recorded to the number actually made is probably uniform from year to year, so that the figures are available for comparative purposes. The mere number of journeys made does not show, of course, the nature of the implied association, for journeys may be made for business purposes, for sightseeing, or for visiting friends. As far as one can judge from reading the news items, a majority were made, primarily, with the purpose of visiting friends. Even when summer resorts were visited, the citizens commonly made such trips in groups, and those who were accustomed to spend the entire summer at a particular resort usually did so in colonies. In 1887 and 1895 the Blankville colony at S—— Beach (to which the projection of the dotted

curve, in Chart V, is largely due) was recognized in the *Times* by the segregation of the news from that colony under the heading "S—— Beach." Undoubtedly, the greatest number

CHART V.

of journeys made have been those made by women to X—— to enjoy a day's shopping. The purpose of these is not business so much as the pleasure of being in a crowd and of "seeing new things." Here the sense of need of recep-

tive sensation is the dominant motive. In Chart V is represented the number of persons, per one thousand inhabitants of Blankville,[1] who made one journey during the year specified to some point further distant than the city of X——. The dotted curve indicates the number who made a journey to some point within the state, and the unbroken curve the number who made a journey to some point outside the state and inside the United States. Both these curves are based on the first series of figures at the right. The dot and dash curve indicates the total number of persons who made a journey to some point outside the United States (the number is too small to make it per one thousand of the population) and is based on the figures at the left. The dash curve is the hop curve, also based on the figures at the left. The rise of all three journey curves, especially the dotted, in the period of great prosperity, is marked. The rise of the unbroken curve in 1893 is due to journeys to the World's Fair at Chicago. Less than ten per cent of the population of Blanktown visited the World's Fair or the Pan-American Exposition. The rise of the dotted curve in 1895 shows that S—— Beach reached the climax of its popularity at this time. All three curves show the same general tendency, namely, an increase of journeys made to points far and near, thus indicating a continually widening association. During the last few years there has been a perceptible decrease in traveling, due to the period of depression, 1895-97, and, more generally, to a reaction from extreme indulgence in this sort of pleasure.

One of the chief results of widening association has been a diminution of the intensity of family-feeling. In the days

[1] The population of Blankville rather than of Blanktown is used because comparatively few of the journeys recorded were made by inhabitants of the rural districts, owing to the fact that country people do less traveling than village people, and also to the fact that the *Times* failed more frequently to record journeys made by country people. The more intimate communication of Blankville than of the rural districts is evident from the number of letters received by the two regions. Roughly estimated, Blankville received about 720 letters weekly in June, 1900, the six valley neighborhoods 282 and the five hill neighborhoods 60.

of neighborhood association there was less knowledge of the outside world, less talk of easily amassed fortunes and of the excitement of city life, making country life seem monotonous by comparison. Home ties were less easily broken by ambitious youths and homesickness less easily shaken off. The affection of parents for children, also, is less intense in these days of greater traveling facilities and manifold social duties in the enjoyment and discharge of which children often are found to be an encumbrance. The remoter ties of kinship as well are weaker, the family of a married brother sometimes associating with that of a married sister, two miles distant, no more intimately than as if they were entire strangers. Another result of widening association is the decreasing interest of the people in the doings of their neighbors. In spite of these tendencies, however, the Blanktownsman is still most intensely interested in the members of his family and in his neighbors. The affairs of neighbors and townsmen are the chief topics of conversation. The "personal" column in the Blankville *Times* is the literature most eagerly read. The reason given for taking a daily newspaper published in X—— rather than a New York daily is that the former "tells what is going on near home." This dominant local interest involves a feeling of anxiety and responsibility for the welfare of the town as against that of remoter regions. Thus, at a society fair held in Blankville, there was a lottery on a piano, and when, amid considerable excitement, the piano was drawn by an outsider, there was a general feeling of regret and many were heard to deplore the fact that the piano "went out of town." In spite of the more varied interests of a widening association, therefore, the consciousness of one's place in the family group and in the town association is still, as at the end of the first period (Part I, Chapter VII), the important fact in the social consciousness of the Blanktown population.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEMOTIC COMPOSITION.

We have statistics of the native and foreign-born elements in the social population only for the years 1845, 1875 and 1900. In 1845, of the entire population, 6.5 per cent were foreign-born, all English people. In 1875, 17.16 per cent were foreign-born, 4.2 per cent being English, Scotch or Canadian, 2.3 per cent German, 8.16 per cent Irish, and 2.5 per cent not specified. In 1900, 14.14 per cent were foreign-born, of which 6.86 per cent were Irish, 1.48 per cent German, 3.88 per cent Welsh, and 1.92 per cent English, Scotch, or Canadian. Less than 1 per cent were colored in 1845 and in 1875, while in 1900 there were no colored people. Thus, until 1875, the foreign element was insignificant, and, at that date, the Irish was the only nationality which existed in Blanktown in numbers large enough to play any considerable part in the social activity of the town. However, the census of 1875 missed one nationality which it is important to consider, namely, the Welsh. Statistics of foreign-born Irish or Welsh persons do not adequately set forth the importance of these nationalities, for native Americans of Irish or Welsh parentage are often just as Irish or Welsh in type of mind and character as are their foreign-born parents. Hence, in our discussion of the development of Welsh and Irish influence, we shall use not the number of Irishmen and Welshmen but the number of families with Irish names and Welsh names.[1]

[1] Following is a list of the Irish and Welsh names used as showing the family known by the name to be dominantly Welsh or Irish in type of character and in social influence:

Irish names: Bloomfield, Brady, Bourke, Bogan, Barden, Clary, Collins, Casey, Corrigan, Conner, Cronin, Creedan, Dowd, Duffey, Downey, Doyle, Donnelly, Dillan, Doherty, Dunn, Dowling, Donohue, Eagan, Flynn, Finnegan, Foley, Gossin, Garvey, Ginity, Gallager, Haley, Heffern, Kelley, Kennedy, Keegan, Kilmurray, Lynch, Loftus,

In rural Blanktown, the influence of the Irish and Welsh people has been perceptible only in the five hill neighborhoods. Here, in 1874, 32.6 per cent, and in 1900, 27 per cent of the families had Irish names, showing a strong Irish element. Of families with Welsh names, there were, however, only 1.8 per cent in 1874 and only 4.3 per cent in 1900. The influence of Irish and Welsh people, in Blankville, has been much greater than in the rural districts. This is due, in the first place, to the fact that the industrial and religious interests of the strong Irish element of rural Blanktown and the strong Welsh element of the town to the north have centered in Blankville; in the second place, to the considerable Irish and Welsh element in the population of Blankville itself. Table XV gives the percentage of the total number of families in Blankville in the year specified, which had Irish names and the percentage which had Welsh names.[1] Evidently, there has been an increase during our period in the number of people of the Irish and Welsh types of character.

We find indications of a considerable Irish element as early as 1850 when a Catholic church was founded. This church was small and for some years had no resident priest. After the building of the railroad, in 1867, the Irish people rapidly increased in number. In 1875 the Catholic young men of Blankville formed a social club, and for some months maintained a reading room. In 1876, 1877, and 1878, there was a Catholic school in Blankville attended by practically all the Catholic school children of the town. In 1883 a new Catholic rectory was built; in 1885 another men's social club formed; and in 1887 the church building was enlarged and Catholic

McDonald, McCabe, McElhinney, McGuiness, Mulligan, Mulverhill, McCarthy, McHugo, McGuiley, Morrow, Maloney, McCale, McQuade, Marphy, McClosky, Murray, McBride, McCready, Mehan, McNamara, Nolan, O'Rourk, O'Neill, O'Connell, O'Toole, O'Brien, Roach, Ryan, Sheehan, Sullivan, Whalen.

Welsh names: Davis, Edwards, Evans, Griffiths, Hughes, Jones, Price, Pughe, Roberts, Thomas, Williams.

[1] These figures are worked out from the census records of Blankville, where the name of each family is recorded.

TABLE XV.

	1874.	1877.	1878.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1885.	1886.	1888.	1889.	1891.	1892.	1895.	1897.	1898.	1900.
Individuals with Irish names.....	11.7	10.6	11.9	11.5	12.4	10.3	13.1	11.2	13.7	13.7	13.4	12.9	15.9	12.9	19.2	20.0
Individuals with Welsh names....	6.1	6.9	8.9	6.9	6.3	5.5	6.8	7.4	8.1	12.0	10.0	9.4	10.7	9.5	8.6	8.9

influence reached its maximum point, near which it has since remained. The influence of the Welsh as well as of the Irish was early in evidence. A Welsh Congregational Church was formed in 1852. About 1879 it was enlarged, and in 1893 improvements were again made. In 1894-96 the Welsh people paid their minister a larger salary than was paid before or since.

As to the influence of the Irish and Welsh people, we may begin by saying that, as a rule, the Welsh are not imitative, the native Americans are imitative and the Irish are very imitative. We have, therefore, three elements difficult of amalgamation, becoming more equal in strength during our period. The characteristic conservatism of the Welsh is evident in a statement of the *Times* of 1875 that the "Welsh Store" is in its new quarters, and from various references it is evident that, other things being equal, the Welsh people prefer to patronize the "Welsh Store." In 1859 the Welsh people of the town held a Fourth of July celebration on "Tassel Hill," at which speeches were made in the Welsh language extolling Welsh and American national heroes. On the same afternoon an "opposition celebration" was held on "Hard Scrabble Hill" by the native Americans. The Welsh have tended to hold aloof from the social life of Blankville and to confine themselves to the activity centering around their own church. Furthermore, in their church activity they have not imitated to any extent that of other churches. A Welsh musical and literary society was formed in 1885, but this differed entirely from similar societies in other churches. The main features of the social life of the church have been entertainments consisting of the singing of Welsh songs and reciting of poems for prizes in true eisteddfod fashion. A Young People's Religious Society was not formed in the Welsh church until 1891 (Chapter VIII). Since 1890 some of the young people have attempted to persuade the older members to have one sermon a Sunday in the English language instead of two sermons in Welsh. They have been unsuccessful, however, and as a result many young people have left the church. Between 1890 and 1900

eleven communicants and seven members of the congregation, representing seven families, have gone over to the Presbyterians; five members of the congregation, representing four families, to the Methodists; and four to the Episcopalians. It is important to note that, of the twenty-seven persons who have left the Welsh church, two-thirds joined the Presbyterians and none joined the Baptists. This is due to a fact that will be brought out in Chapters VIII and XIV, namely, the preeminence of the Presbyterian as the socially approved and of the Baptist as the socially repudiated church. Another important point is that all but two of the twenty-seven lived in Blankville. In this case, therefore, as in others to be mentioned, the less imitative class reside in the rural districts.

The Irishman is much more imitative than the Welshman. The Irish very quickly assimilate with the "Old Yank," as they call him, that is, the old-time American farmer, one of whose most striking characteristics was his heartiness and companionability and his ready compassion for the poor and sick. These qualities the Irish have in common with the native Americans, and the two types, up to 1875, at least, assimilated readily. But with the prosperity of 1879-84 the "Old Yank" began to disappear. New desires and ambitions took the place of the old-time comradeship and compassion. As far as these new desires took the form of liquor-drinking and horse-racing, the Irishman could still associate with the American. But in more expensive pleasures he could not join. The Irish, like the Welsh people, have tended to differentiate into two classes, a more and a less imitative class. The latter are characterized by their retention of the "brogue." Both are alike faithful to their church obligations, but the unimitative class to a greater degree, their religious attitude being serious and unquestioning, while the imitative "laugh at the priest behind his back." The imitative class prefer to associate with Americans rather than with the unimitative class of their own countrymen, while the latter regard the others as "stuck up." To the imitative class belong most of the Irish young people, particularly the

young women who, refusing to act as house servants, an occupation which their unimitative sisters are content to follow, pride themselves on the fact that they dress and act like the American girl, and, if fortune so favors them, that they have a Protestant beau. To the imitative class belong the members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, organized in 1898, and of the local chapter of the Women's Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, organized in 1899. These organizations give "impromptu" dancing parties and other functions in imitation of those given by American young people. However, no native youths or girls are invited to these functions, although the tendency is in this direction owing to the preference of Irish girls for the company of native rather than of Irish youths. As with the Welsh so in case of the Irish, the unimitative live more largely in the rural districts. It is this class that is referred to by the disparaging remark, "You are as obstinate as an old countryman," or "You look like an old countryman."

The presence in the social population of these mutually inassimilable elements has had important effects upon the pleasure activity of Blanktown. The Irish and Welsh do not assimilate with each other. Further, the unimitative classes of the two nationalities do not associate with the imitative classes, nor do they assimilate with the native Americans. Among the Welsh the unimitative class predominates, among the Irish the imitative. Each nationality in its pleasure activity holds aloof from the others. The convivial Irishmen, unrestrained by a conservative element, go to one extreme in their pleasures, and the austere Welshmen go the other. The Irish "do nothing but dance," while the Welsh frown upon dancing. Thus the Irish influence has tended to accentuate the already dominant tendency of the native population toward excessive self-indulgence and the Welsh influence to embitter the already harsh condemnation pronounced by the self-denying conservatives.

CHAPTER V.

THE SOCIAL MIND: SOCIAL PLEASURE.

The social mind of a population is best understood through a study of the pleasures of the people. Under stress of physical need an individual often will do work for which he is not adapted. Many individuals go through life following an occupation which, if their hands were free, they would abandon for some more congenial work. In their pleasures, however, they are themselves and follow their bent. Pleasure activity reveals more truly than work activity the nature of the social mind. For this reason we shall begin our study of the social mind with an analysis of the pleasures of the population.

Our information as to the development of social pleasure is by no means complete. Work, pursued to a certain limit, is a pleasure and many individuals in the population, particularly among the farming class, find their sole pleasure in their work and in their hours of recreation at meal time and gathered around the stove in the winter evenings. Of work pleasures and home pleasures no statistical study can be made. We can simply cite documentary statements showing the tendency of these pleasures to decrease in relative importance as wealth has accumulated and as association has become more intimate. Furthermore, the participation of different elements of the population in particular pleasures can not be statistically determined. It is possible to say only, that individuals tend to show the same mental traits in their pleasures which they show in their work. Thus the farming population particularly enjoy pleasures of physical activity and the more active pleasures of receptive sensation, as dancing, and care less for the passive pleasures of receptive sensation, as theatre-going. The village population with its merchant class, characterized by perceptual keenness and suggestibility, and its physically and mentally

dexterous industrial class enjoy particularly the theatre and games, like cards, requiring dexterity and shrewdness. So far as the farming class have intellectual pleasures, they are apt to be predominantly emotional, a set of deductive beliefs calculated to sanction frugality and self-denial. This accounts for the interest in religion in the rural communities, while the village people are more interested in those current events and in current literature a knowledge of which makes a man "well-informed." The important element in the ideational life of the rural community is its emotional reaction to simple, fixed ideas, while changing ideas, becoming more and more varied, are the important element in town life, emotional reaction to them being secondary.

Accordingly, for convenience in our statistical study, we shall classify pleasures as pleasures of physical activity, pleasures of receptive sensation, pleasures of emotional ideation and pleasures of thought. All pleasures, dancing for instance, involve two or more kinds of activity, and hence must be classified according to the mental element which seems predominant. The pleasures of emotional ideation are those which involve fixed imaginative ideas, as compared with the changing ideas of sensational pleasures. In the latter the characteristic element is a continually changing sensory stimulus, in the former an inhibition of sensory stimulus by an habitual or "consistent" reaction to certain fixed imaginative ideas.[1] Owing to the pre-

[1] A development of the imagination tends to "unsettle" these ideas. As will be shown in Vol. II, an important phase of the life of the second period is a development of the imagination, as seen in the increasing importance of the individualistic motives of recklessness and dishonesty (Chapter XII), of the motives of domination and submission, and finally in Blanktown's characteristic form of skepticism. Religious ideas have been "unsettled" by an imaginative process rather than by a logical deduction from the inductive principle of the inviolability of natural law. Thus, instead of disbelief in interventions of Providence arising from belief in natural law, they arise from inability to imagine the dwelling place of the Deity. "He isn't in the moon, because He made it. He isn't above the sky because He made what is above that, and must have stood outside while doing it." Similarly, disbelief in a future life arises "because there couldn't be a world big enough to hold all the spirits."

dominance of motor reaction in these pleasures, they are characterized by strong feeling rather than by the weaker feeling of a more varied ideational activity. Hence we term them pleasures of *emotional* ideation in contrast with the pleasures of thought, that is, the less intense pleasures of a more varied ideation. The chief pleasures of emotional ideation are the pleasures of religion. The religion of Blanktown is a religion of self-denial (Chapter XIV). Religion is not a matter of interest in doctrine so much as a rigid abstinence from certain forms of pleasure, chief of which are dancing, billiard, pool and card-playing, theatre-going and liquor-drinking. The opposition to self-indulgence has singled out these four specific kinds of self-indulgence because in all excessive self-indulgence one or more of these kinds of pleasure is conspicuous. "Cards are all right in themselves—just as harmless as dominoes, but they are used to gamble with and dominoes are not."

The religious doctrine of self-denial rests on two assumptions. The first is that the only way to avoid excessive self-indulgence is to abstain from all self-indulgence. You can never be sure of your self-control in moderate indulgence. Thus moderate liquor-drinking is considered as reprehensible as drunkenness. Furthermore, indulgence in all the proscribed forms of pleasure is equally sinful. As one man expressed it, "A man who has a billiard table in his house is as bad as a saloon-keeper." The second assumption is that "you are your brother's keeper." Although you yourself may be strong enough to withstand temptation, you may by indulging make your brother to offend. For your influence on the lives of others as well as for your own life, "God will hold you accountable in the day of judgment." To this religious doctrine the pleasure-loving individual responds that he does not believe he is his brother's keeper; he regards himself as free to live his own life and to indulge himself as he sees fit. He calculates he is able to stop short of excessive indulgence, but if not, it is his own affair.

This conflict between the self-denying and self-indulging

individuals has been the main feature of the religious life of Blanktown. Perhaps no individual has enjoyed any of the four proscribed pleasures without, at one time or another, having a feeling that he was by so doing in conflict with a certain element in the social population. And perhaps no self-denying individual has failed to feel the conflict between himself and those who were enjoying the pleasures he regarded as sinful. Thus individuals may be regarded from two points of view. They may be regarded from the point of view of the nature of the pleasures they most enjoy. Those who enjoy most thoroughly pleasures of receptive sensation may be regarded as of a sensational type of mind, those who enjoy pleasures of emotional ideation as of an emotionally ideational type of mind. Or they may be regarded from the point of view of the sociological significance, or perhaps we should say of the theological significance of the pleasures they enjoy. Those who repudiate the theological doctrine of the sin of self-indulgence and the penalty of eternal punishment, and, in defiance of the church, dare to indulge themselves even to excess, may be regarded as of a self-indulgent or convivial type of character, while those who hold to it may be regarded as of a self-denying or austere type of character. The intellective basis of classification is more definite, but the terms do not connotate the feeling of conflict between individuals holding two different theories of life and duty as does the sociological classification. In communities where the feeling of conflict between the two classes is universal, as is the case in Blanktown, we may speak synonymously of the sensational type of mind and the convivial type of character, of the emotionally ideational type of mind and the austere type of character.

There are some individuals who care so little about pleasures of receptive sensational or emotional ideation and indulge in them so slightly that they have little or no feeling of the conflict between the austere and the convivial classes. These individuals are of two types of mind; of one the sole enjoyment lies in the physical activity of daily work and the satisfaction of

physical needs, while the other type enjoys pleasures of thought. The latter bases his theory of life and duty, not on an impulsive desire for self-indulgence which, impatient of theological restraint, repudiates all responsibility, but limits his self-indulgence according to a conception of duty which would secure the greatest happiness for the greatest number. In virtue of this attitude to the conflict between the austere and the convivial classes, the thoughtful man may be regarded as of a rational type of character. The man whose life is made up mainly of physical feeling is of an instinctive type of mind. He has no theory of life and duty. His activity is mainly a persistent exercise of physical force, in virtue of which he may be regarded as of a forceful type of character.

The following chapters are studies not of types of mind or of character primarily, but of kinds of pleasure and of the relation of their increase or decrease to economic prosperity. We shall use the terms forceful, convivial, austere and rational only when connotating a specific conception of life and duty, involving a certain attitude to the conflict between the self-indulgent and the self-denying classes. Otherwise, we shall use the intellective terms connotating simply the nature of the pleasure.

The sources for the study of social pleasure are church records and records of various societies and clubs, supplemented by personal testimony. The most valuable source is the Blankville *Times*, of which the file is complete for 1875-1900. The *Times* does not register the exact number of dances or theatres occurring each year, but it gives the large majority. Furthermore, the proportion registered to the whole number occurring has been about the same from year to year. The editorship of the paper has changed only twice since 1875, once in 1881 and once in 1887. The present editor simply carried out the policy of his predecessor, his sole statement as to his policy being, "The new firm hopes, by careful attention to all the details necessary in publishing a paper, to merit and receive the patronage that has been extended to . . . the

Times . . . in the past." The change in 1881 likewise had little or no effect on the trustworthiness of the paper as a comparative source. The retiring editor said of his policy: "We have visited the firesides of our readers weekly, striving ever to give correct information concerning the happenings in and about the circle wherein our patrons reside." The new editor said nothing explicit as to the care with which he would collect local news, tacitly implying that he would follow the policy of his predecessor. Thus in our study of social movements as seen in the files of the *Times,* we may disregard the personality of the editor. Correlation with phenomena, the source for which is not the *Times,* will corroborate the changes set forth in the *Times.* For instance, the increasing conviviality within the church, which we ascertain from sources other than the *Times,* renders it probable that the paper is to be trusted when it gives facts showing an increasing conviviality outside the church.

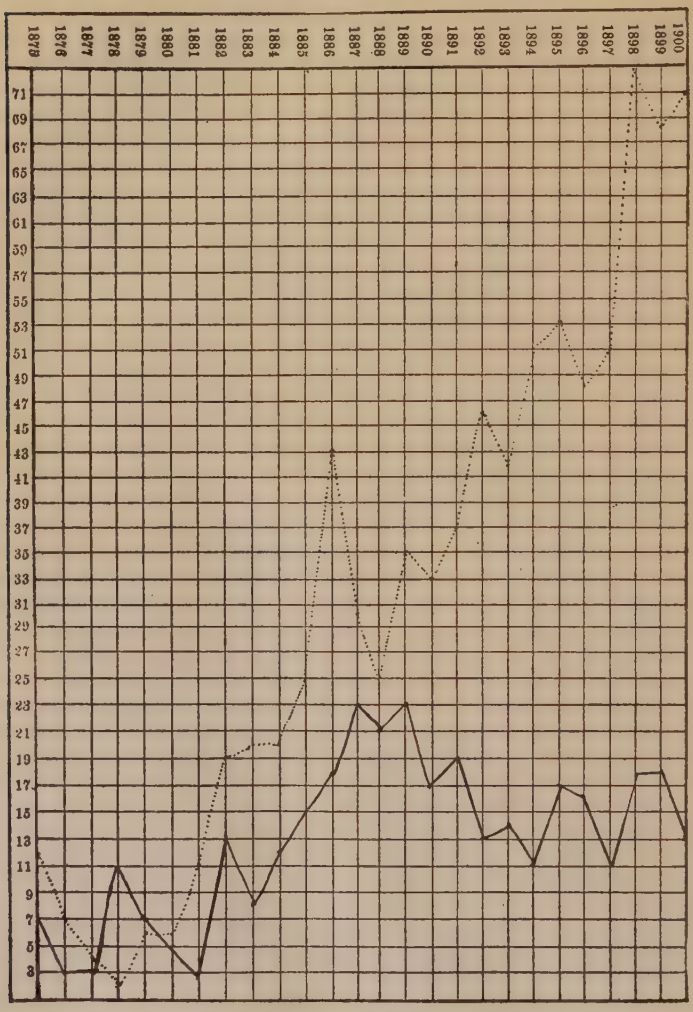
A cursory reading of the files of the *Times* impresses one with the simplicity of the social life of the town before 1875. Social activity centered around the church and the home. The *Times* of 1873 has the following: "The long evenings are now at hand. The season for the home pleasures comes with them. The lamp upon the centre table with the group of allied hearts and happy faces gathered around it should now make a frequent and happy picture. Young men and old men, when your day's work is done go home and make part of that best of social groups." How different is this strain from that which we have, ten years later, on the occasion of the agreement of the merchants of Blankville to close their places of business at 8 P. M.: "This will enable our hard-working merchants to enjoy the evening at the club or at the theatre." The greater importance of the home in the early days is shown indirectly in many ways. The *Times* of 1875 refers in commendatory terms to a series of sermons delivered by the Presbyterian minister on the following subjects: "Home and Its Relations," "The Value of a Good Mother," "A Good Wife and What

She Is Worth," "The Husband at Home." These sermons may have been called forth by the already noticeable encroachment of social upon home life. Thus in 1875 a society of married women discussed the theme, "How shall we make our homes attractive so as to keep our husbands at home evenings?" To-day the wife expects her husband to go to the club, and gains social distinction by his being a club man.

The church was, up to about 1867, the social centre of the town. All entertainments were given in the meeting-house (excepting dances, which were held in the hotel), so that no entertainment could be held of which the church did not approve. In 1859 the Baptist and Presbyterian societies refused to rent their meeting-houses to "traveling readers and singers," and the *Times* remarked: "Who will subscribe toward a public hall, that Blankville may enjoy equal privileges with other villages?" From this time until the building of Putman Hall in 1867 there are occasional references in the *Times* to traveling companies which Blankville might have secured for a performance had it not been for the prejudice of the churches and their refusal to rent their meeting-houses. For some time after the building of Putman Hall, the church's censorship of amusements exercised a strong repressive influence, its opposition to dancing, card-playing and theatre-going being so successful that the social events of the town still consisted largely of church festivals, picnics and donations. In Chart VI is compared the number of church fairs, festivals, banquets, sociables, suppers, picnics and entertainments mentioned in the *Times* (unbroken curve) with the number of social functions given by organizations other than the church or by individuals (dotted curve). Up to 1882 the church divided about equally with other agencies the social life of the town. Both church and extraneous social life increased after the period of prosperity, but the latter rapidly became predominant. This was due partly to the building of a new opera house in 1881, which gave an opportunity for more elaborate theatres and other functions than had been previously enjoyed. The new opera

house, however, was itself an effect, among many others, of more fundamental causes.

CHART VI.



Thus up to 1875 the social life of Blanktown centered around

the church and the home. Being thus simple, it is to be expected that there would be a marked increase of social activity during and following the period of unprecedented prosperity, 1879-84. Hence this is the important period upon which to fix our attention. The period 1890-93 is occasionally to be noted in correlation, but it is of minor importance, both because the sudden increase of wealth was slight as compared with the earlier period and because phases of activity, once started in 1879-84, tended to perpetuate themselves thereafter through their own forces regardless of economic influences. For instance, the prosperity of 1879-84 caused several farmers to buy fast horses, so that the building of the driving park and the horse-racing which took place during the following years is to be regarded as due not to favorable economic conditions in those years so much as to a perpetuation of the influence of 1879-84. Again, a great increase in dancing and theatre-going directly followed prosperity and continued unabated during the succeeding years owing to the fact that, once started and in the absence of the adverse condition of a decided economic depression, these pleasures continued through their own momentum. Again, the churches bought new organs during our prosperous period, to be paid for in instalments, and were forced to give entertainments during the next few years in order to pay for them. Again, prosperity caused a great increase of traveling and new friends thus made were visited afterwards, regardless of economic influence. Thus the significance of our period of prosperity lies in the fact that it started certain entirely new phases of social activity, which, once started, went on through their own inherent forces. The succeeding chapters on the social mind will show which phases of social activity were started first and which later, which were strong and which weaker, in short, the comparative order and strength of the responses of the pleasure activity of the social population to the stimulus of economic prosperity.

CHAPTER VI.

PLEASURES OF PHYSICAL ACTIVITY.

The pleasures of physical activity are the pleasures of a physically exuberant population, and were, as we have seen, the main feature of the pleasure activity of the early days. During the first years of the second period, pleasures of physical activity were still of great importance. Not only did outdoor pleasures occupy a prominent place, but in indoor pleasures physical exercise predominated. The general tendency, however, has been toward a decrease in the forceful features of pleasure enjoyment. Perhaps the most striking difference between the forceful pleasures of the first and those of the second period is the tendency of the latter to assume the associated form. In the first period there were improvised wrestling matches, fox-hunts and tests of strength whenever a rainy day or a holiday gave "the boys" "a day off." In the second period the boys set aside certain hours and days for fun and formed clubs for joint recreation. These clubs obtained only

TABLE XVI.

Clubs.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
Baseball	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Archery	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gun	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Polo	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bicycle	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tennis	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Football	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Military	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Basket-ball	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Bowling	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Golf	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

in the village, however, the physical activity of the rural districts remaining of the improvised sort enjoyed in intervals of forced suspension of work. Table XVI gives the names and

the number of the clubs formed for the purpose of enjoying pleasures of physical activity which existed each year during our period. All members of these clubs were village men. Both country and village boys, however, patronized the Blankville public billiard parlor (1875-1900), the public bowling alley (1882-83), the public roller-skating rink (1884-85) and the public ice-skating rink (1897-1900). It is important to note that the marked increase in the number of clubs began in 1879-84; also that bowling and skating began and that billiard-playing reached its height in the period of prosperity. The increase in billiard-playing continued up to about 1888, due partly to the large number of farmers' sons who attended the Blankville public school and visited the billiard parlor during and after school hours. The decrease in this amusement since 1888 is due to the emigration of young men and boys city-ward. The increase in the number of clubs in 1888, 1892-93 and 1897-1900 does not indicate a corresponding increase in physical activity, for these clubs owed their origin not to a spontaneous desire for physical exercise so much as to the influence of college athletics working through a Y. M. C. A. athletic secretary. The ice-skating rink, likewise, does not show an increase of interest in skating since it was supported by young people who, heretofore, had been accustomed to walk to and from adjacent skating ponds. The only marked increase of genuine pleasures of physical activity occurred in the period 1882-84, and is a direct response to the prosperity of that period.

The important point in the development of pleasures of physical activity is the decrease in physical exuberance. The pleasures of the early part of the period came into vogue suddenly and spread with great rapidity, each absorbing for the time being the entire attention of the leisure class and of the working class in its leisure hours. Gradually, however, the community has become more self-consciously imitative in its athletics, perceptibly so with the advent of tennis in 1886, predominately so with golf. The wearing of a new baseball or

golf suit is enjoyed more than playing the game. This is in striking contrast to the spirit of the earlier years, when outdoor sports were enjoyed boisterously from pure overflowing of animal spirits. To be sure, during the entire period, animal energy and imitative influence have played their part, the former, however, a decreasing and the latter a more prominent part.

The most remarkable display of exuberance of physical energy in the history of Blankville was the roller-skating craze of 1884 and 1885. To say that the village "went wild" over roller skating would be to put it very mildly. On every evening in the week and on Saturday afternoon crowds could be seen wending their way to the rink. Business men, lawyers, physicians, ministers, and their families—everybody went. The races at the rink and the polo games between the village team and players from neighboring towns were the absorbing topics of conversation. Frequent accidents did not dampen the enthusiasm. As one austere old citizen expressed it, "the whole village was on skates." This craze spread from Blankville to some of the rural districts. Residents of The Center came to the Blankville rink, while Blankwell fitted out a rink of its own. Interest in the sport continued unabated during the winter of 1884, but was perceptibly less in 1885 and soon after died out. The baseball craze was of longer duration, reaching its height about 1892 when baseball games were attended by large crowds. Football reached its height in the fall of 1888 when, in the morning before school, at noon, and from four o'clock until dark, the meadows near the high school were filled with boys big and little, who played regardless of mud, rain and snow, until the snow became so deep as to make playing no longer possible. Football suddenly subsided in 1890 and was not revived again until, in 1899, under the influence of the principal of the high school, a few polite games were played with students of neighboring high schools. Baseball, also, since 1892 has been an affair of new suits and paid professional players. The gun club shows a similar change. Before 1890 there were frequent

references in the *Times* to glass-ball and clay-pigeon shoots and to general tournaments, which references later are almost entirely lacking.

There are several reasons for this decrease of animal spirits in the population, of which the most obvious is the decrease in the proportion of children and young people. Another reason is the increasing influence in social life of the higher social classes, which are more imitative and formal than physically exuberant. This is evident in the rise of forms of athletics exclusively theirs, as tennis and golf, and in the diminished vim and greater propriety observed in all athletic exercises. The growing emphasis on social propriety may be traced throughout the period. The most marked response to prosperity was, as we shall see, excessive liquor-drinking, horse-racing and dancing. These impulsive pleasures were frowned on by the more "proper" element of the population, their activity following the more fashionable role of social functions in imitation of city usages. When this class indulged in the more forceful pleasures, it was with noticeable precautions for the restraint of impulse, as evidenced in the precautions taken at the opening of the "Gentlemen's Driving Park" described in the following chapter. Other evidences of the notion of impulsive activity as violating social propriety are the languid disposition and the leisurely way of shopping assumed by women of the upper classes and their profession of ignorance of the actual work of housekeeping. This sentimental restraint of spontaneous physical activity and of everything savoring of roughness or impulsiveness is seen in the prevalent reluctance to "lower one's dignity" by litigating and so making public a dispute, and in the young farmer's averseness to "peddling" his produce, necessitating, as it would, his appearing on the village streets in his "working clothes"—boots and overalls. This growing imitation of the "dessed up," showy and physically weak and undemonstrative side of city life has developed a notion of propriety and etiquette in which the finer points of

the imitative influence have been missed,[1] while the more obvious traits, as, for instance, deficiency in forceful attributes of character, have been emphasized as fundamental. This growing emphasis on social propriety has tended to depress the spontaneity of animal spirits, already diminishing with the decrease in the proportion of children in the social population. The "running and racing" of children up and down the village streets, through private grounds and over fences, so common in the early days, is now generally refrained from "for fear people won't like it." And the more uncommon such conduct has become, the greater has become the general intolerance of any breach of decorum.

The growing restraint of physical exuberance is thus one manifestation of the general reaction to the excessive indulgence of the lower impulses which will be fully described in the following chapters. Two elements of the population were influential in the growth of this social restraint. First there are, as we have seen, those who have chosen as their canons of social propriety "city" usages. Secondly, the austere element in the population, particularly the Baptists and Methodists, have opposed billiard and pool-playing as sinful, and roller-skating and bowling as coarse and low amusements, and pleasures of physical activity in general as a "foolish waste of energy." These pleasures have been opposed not as pleasures

[1] A Blanktown man has one set of manners for those of his own social class and another for lower classes. Thus a man does not think it consistent with his dignity to tip his hat to a woman of a lower social class. Dignity is of two sorts, the pompousness and condescension of the man of superior wealth and social position, which is false dignity or "false pride," and the silent demand made by the man whose self-respect is based on a consciousness of high motives that his acquaintances shall come up to his standard of self-respect. This is true dignity. In both kinds of dignity a feeling of separateness from one's fellows is implied. In the first case the separation is regarded as final, in the second place as temporary, depending on a man's readiness to rise to those higher ideals which, as a man, he is recognized as being capable of doing. Hence, true dignity is not forbidding, but kindly and gracious. In etiquette it observes the same forms and the same kindliness toward all, rich and poor, exalted and lowly, for all are capable of that self-respect which it demands in all as a condition of recognition. In Blankville, both kinds of dignity are seen, the former predominating.

of physical activity but as pleasures, and hence "unprofitable." Thus when a girl urged her need of physical exercise as a reason for her desiring to play golf, her father retorted: "If you want exercise, take a pail and go up to Hard Scrabble hill and bring back six quarts of blackberries." Another reason for the opposition of the austere people is that, from its very nature, pleasure is not accompanied by that air of seriousness which is habitual with the austere type of character. Thus one parent said to his son whom he had refused to allow to attend the skating rink: "I don't want you to do anything that I can't pray for your success in." Not until 1890 did pleasures of physical activity come to be regarded as compatible with religion. With the institution of a Y. M. C. A. in Blankville athletics were encouraged as a means of bringing boys under the influence of religious instruction, and incidentally of developing a little "muscular Christianity"; for it had been observed that a church member who was a good ball-player "exerted a stronger influence for good" than one who was not.

Of the two influences working to discourage the indulgence of exuberant animal spirits, the growing influence of city usages has been more potent than the austere demand for self-denial. The former has grown more and the latter less important. Worship of God has, as we shall see, given place to worship of the wealthy and the clever. Worship of wealthy people and "city people," however, affects pleasure activity in much the same way as religious worship, for it surrounds such activity with all the seriousness and repression of spontaneity of a religious exercise.

CHAPTER VII.

PLEASURES OF RECEPTIVE SENSATION.

One of the most important facts in the social development of Blanktown has been the great increase of pleasure as compared with productive activity immediately following the advent of prosperity. This unprecedented pleasure activity assumed the form chiefly of pleasures of receptive sensation. Of these, one of the most important forms was the increased consumption of goods for personal use, such as apparel, house-furnishings, equipages and ornaments. In the rural districts such sorts of goods as could be displayed in the village increased first, as harnesses, carriages and fast horses. Then the farmhouse was enlarged, repainted and refurnished, like village houses, with piano, bright-colored carpets, white curtains, sideboard and writing desk. Occasionally a new and pretentious house was built. In the village the sorts of goods that could be displayed most readily increased first, such as fine clothing, better house furnishings, pretentious houses and fine equipages. The building of fine houses reached its height in the rivalry of two men living directly opposite each other on the most fashionable street of the village. One of these men built a very large frame house, and the other, who said he would "go him one better," erected a still larger house of pressed brick, profusely ornamented, at a cost of about $50,000, which sum represented a large part of the fortune of the owner. Less ambitious residences built at this time were extravagantly ornamented.

The lawn surrounding the house was the object of special pride. Before 1885 lawn-mowers had come into general use, and since then the superiority of Blankville over neighboring villages in its well-kept lawns often has been commented on by visitors. In 1900 eighty-four per cent of the lawns of the

village were kept well trimmed, and this figure is representative for the period of 1885-1900. The rural districts introduced the lawn-mower in imitation of Blankville, but its use has decreased very much during the last ten years. Only at The Center and Blankwell are any of the lawns before the houses well kept, and less than one-half of them were mowed with the lawn-mower in 1900.

Attempts to beautify surroundings have taken the form not only of individual but also of concerted action. In 1887 some citizens of Blankville laid out and for some years kept neatly mowed a grass plot opposite the railroad station. In the same year a movement was started to raise funds for a Soldiers' Monument, which was erected in 1899, at a cost of $2,000, in a park specially laid out for that purpose. Following the period of prosperity we note also a tendency to improve the appearance of the public highways, as well as the parks of the village, of which there are three. A Village Improvement Society was formed in Blankville in 1892, and, in imitation of this, a similar society at The Center, two weeks later. The object of both societies was to beautify the highways and parks of their respective communities. These societies accomplished nothing and serve only to indicate the tendency of prosperity to arouse a desire for æsthetic enjoyment.

Next in importance to increasing luxuriousness in articles of personal use and natural surroundings, the multiplication of consumers' goods in the village took the form of fine equipages. The period 1880-85 was the golden age for the town carriage dealers and harness makers. This gave rise to the desire for better roads, particularly in Blankville, and the result was the building of a road-bed of crushed stone throughout the village. For this purpose a road-machine was purchased in 1885 at a cost of $150, and a stone-crusher in the same year at a cost of $750. The amount expended on the highways of the village jumped from $1,585 in 1880 to $3,250 in 1884, to $5,927 in 1885 and to $6,090 in 1886. In 1887 the amount dropped to $2,750 and remained near this figure until

1892, when it arose to $3,865. In 1894 it dropped to $1,656, near which it has remained.[1]

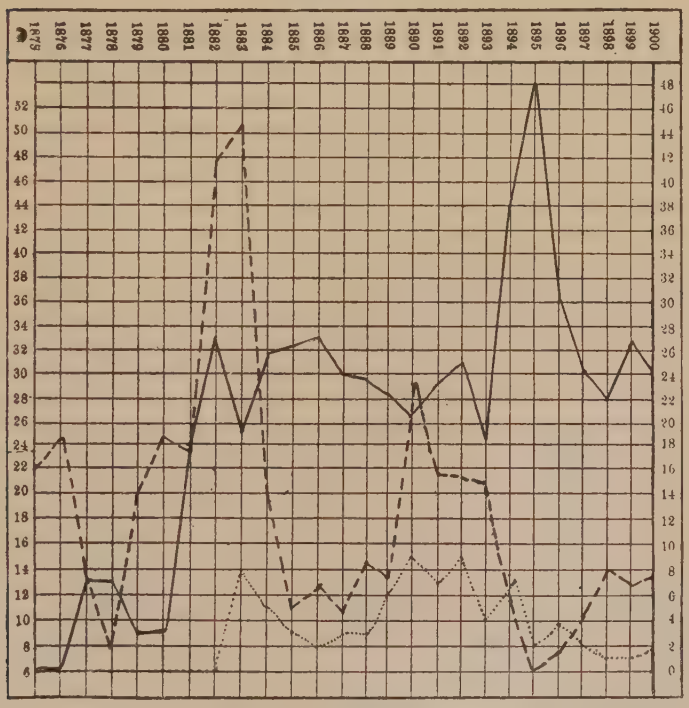
Frugal habits have remained stronger among the rural than among the village people owing both to the fact that the former are, temperamentally, more customary than the latter and to the greater temptation to display afforded by the closer association of the village. Hence the contempt of the rural inhabitants for the inordinate display of the village folk. But the country has not been without a desire for display. In both village and country the desire for display rather than the desire for personal comfort, has been the principal motive for the increase of consumers' goods. The latter motive is evident mainly in the greater variety of food consumed. In the rural districts kinds of food have remained almost unchanged during the entire period, the sole effect of prosperity, along this line, being the increased consumption of liquor. The difference between the two regions lies in the order of increase of consumers' goods, the new wants of the village people first taking the form of the latest styles in ornaments and personal apparel and improvement of the externals of their dwellings, and those of the country people the form of finer equipages. This is due to difference in intimacy of association, clothing and well-kept lawns being more readily displayed where association is more intimate, equipages where it is less intimate and where there is little traveling on foot.

The next form of sensational pleasure to be studied is the number of journeys made each year by the population of Blanktown to a winter or a summer resort. Florida has been the winter resort most frequently visited, while the summer resorts include the Adirondack Mountains, Lake Ontario, Niagara Falls, R—— Springs, S—— Beach, seaside resorts on the New York, New Jersey and New England coasts, the Thousand Islands and the White Mountains. Pleas-

[1] The three largest items in the village budget are the highway account, the street lighting account, which, since the streets were first publicly lighted in 1881, has varied from $600 to $3,000, and the yearly amount paid on the debt incurred in building a water system in 1887.

ure trips have been made by the people of Blanktown not so much to see great cities or famous natural scenery as to visit friends or to put one's name for a few days on the hotel register of a fashionable resort, in imitation of the wealthy class of "city folks." In Chart VII we have correlated

CHART VII.



the increase of the number of journeys made to a winter and a summer resort with economic prosperity. The dash curve is the hop curve; the dotted curve represents the number of persons per one thousand of the population who made one journey to Florida in the year specified; the unbroken curve represents the number of persons per one thousand of the population who made one journey to a summer resort. The

resort curves are based on the figures at the right. Both the Florida and the summer resort curves show a marked response to the prosperity of 1879-84. The Florida curve rises in 1890, while the summer resort curve shows no relation to the hop curve after 1879-84. This is due to the fact that winter vacations are more expensive, and hence are more dependent upon conditions of prosperity, while summer vacations often consisted merely of a trip to S—— Beach to visit Blankville families who, during and after the period of prosperity, had erected cottages there. Since the total expense of such a trip need not exceed five dollars, economic conditions had little influence on the number of these visits. The rise of the curve in 1895 is due to trips to S—— Beach. The depression of both curves in 1893 is due to the influence of the World's Fair (Chart IV). The important point shown by the chart is the marked response of both curves to the prosperity of 1879-84. The custom of taking a summer vacation received its first impetus from this prosperity, and continued thereafter more or less independently of economic conditions.

We turn now to the sensational pleasures of luncheons, dinners, teas, "at-homes," parties and receptions. Of such events the *Times* records none until 1880. From that year the number increased, reaching its height in 1886, after which there was a decrease until 1893, when the figure of 1886 was again reached. These social functions became more and more expensive as rivalry in display grew keener. Hence it is obvious why the greatest number should occur during or directly following periods of prosperity. Up to 1890 the employment of out-of-town orchestras and caterers was infrequent, in 1890-93 very frequent, after 1893 very rare. The reason expensive social functions were comparatively late, not becoming frequent until the last decade, is that they were "city usages" which were learned only after considerable traveling had been done.

Thus far we have studied unorganized pleasure activity. Turning now to organized pleasure-seeking, we have repre-

sented in Table XVII the number of clubs and societies for pleasures of receptive sensation which have existed in the town each year during our period.[1] The table represents the years when the society has been active, not the years when it has merely nominally existed. For instance, the Blanktown Driving Park Association was nominally in existence after 1894, but no "meets" have been held since then, so that the association had no influence upon the pleasure activity of the town. In the same way the Agricultural Society is noted as existing only in those years when it held a fair, and a committee for arranging a Fourth-of-July celebration only when such a celebration was actually held.

TABLE XVII.

Societies and Clubs.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
Agricultural Society.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.
Grange Society.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dancing Clubs.....	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	2	2	2	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..
Brass Band.....	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..
Musical Clubs.....	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	3	..	3	1	1	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Village Men's Social Club	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Miscellaneous Social Clubs.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	2	3	6	5	..	1	1	1	2	2	5
Card Clubs	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	4	3	3	4
Dramatic Societies...	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Committee for Fourth of July.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Driving Park Association	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..

The Grange Society has filled by far the most important place in the pleasure activity of Blanktown. It was organized in 1874, with its meeting place in Blankville. The purpose of the society was twofold, to enable the farmers to buy their supplies at wholesale prices and to bring them together in social intercourse. Only the latter purpose has been realized. Throughout its history the Grange has been simply a social organization. In a paper read before the society by a charter

[1] Practically all members of these societies were residents of Blankville excepting the Grange, the Agricultural Society, the musical clubs and the Driving Park Association. A majority of the members of the two latter societies were residents of Blankville.

member its activity is described as follows: "In those early days we came at 2 P. M., had a business meeting, with a short literary program . . . after which we had a social hour, reaching home in time for milking and supper. . . . The Grange has been the trysting place . . . where the farmers have come after the labors of the day were completed . . . bringing their wives and children to spend the first and third Thursday afternoons for six months of every year since 1874. It is here they have come to throw dull care away, and to discuss the best methods of raising grains, hops and potatoes, and to beat their brother Grangers at their favorite game of seven up." "And when W—— S—— could be persuaded to bring his violin, we had money musk, Virginia reel and the good old squares." "It is here they have come with the same feeling of freedom which surrounds their own hearth-stones; and what balm it has brought to their troubled spirits when they have gazed upon the hurricane's blast and ruin of their fine hop yards, to learn that their brother's yards . . . were just as badly damaged as their own." "Although we have not made much use of the privileges of buying at wholesale, we have enjoyed to the utmost the social clause; always coming with the happy-go-lucky feeling, ready to eat, drink and be merry, and to enter into any amusements offered." Thus the activity of the Grange has been wholly social. No attempt has been made to buy goods at wholesale; indeed, after the first few years of its existence, the Grangers seem to have forgotten this function of the organization.

A study of the history of the Grange Society reveals the reason for its exclusively pleasure activity. Table XVIII gives the number of persons who joined the Grange each year up to 1900. The important point in the table is the fact that up to 1883 the rural districts were most largely represented in the membership of the Grange, while after 1883 the proportion of village people steadily increased until after 1888 it became predominant. The reason for the early predominance of the rural membership was given in a paper read before the society

by a charter member in 1903: "No one in that period (1874-83) was eligible but a true blue working farmer excepting Dr. B—— and wife. There were no musicians in the order,

TABLE XVIII.

Neighborhoods.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
Blankville.....	7	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	3	2	4	5	15	8	4	0	13	14	5	5	10	4	24	7
Six valley neighborhoods	42	2	4	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	4	2	4	2	3	0	0	4	0	2	0	0	1	3	0	3
Five hill neighborhoods	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Blanktown.....	53	5	4	5	2	0	1	0	0	0	12	7	4	8	7	18	9	4	4	15	16	5	5	11	7	24	10

and, after many consultations and some stretching of the by-laws, it was decided to take this outside couple in, as it was very important that we have music." There must have been some further stretching of the by-laws, for in 1884 two persons not owning or working farms were received, in 1886 two more, and in 1890 the number of such members was fifteen. Finally, of the one hundred and two families represented in the Grange in 1900, seventy-three were residents of Blankville, and none of them was engaged in farming or owned farms. The reason for this change from a rural to a village organization is not far to seek. During the period of great prosperity, 1879-84, the farmers were so absorbed in their own individual affairs that interest in the Grange reached a low ebb. It was no longer necessary to think of economizing by obtaining supplies at wholesale prices, so that whatever plans might have been on foot to this end were now forgotten. Furthermore, in periods of prosperity, activity is individualistic rather than social. The comfort derived from sympathy in times of adversity, which, as above quoted, was one of the blessings of the Grange Society, was not desired in times of prosperity. At such times the desire for sympathy gives place to the desire for display (Chapter VIII). But the important effect of the period of prosperity upon the Grange Society was

that, when it had passed, many of the members found their social relations much changed. Some had moved into Blankville and many had extended their acquaintanceship in the village and wished their village friends to become members of the Grange with them. After 1884, therefore, the society adopted the policy of admitting to membership individuals who did not own or work farms. The social feature thus became the exclusive feature in the activity of the society.

The gradual predominance of village influence in the Grange caused the strength of that early fellow-feeling referred to by the charter member above quoted to diminish before an increasing desire to imitate "city pleasures" and an increasing desire for display. The rural members have felt less and less "at home" in the Grange, and some of them have for this reason withdrawn from the society. The decrease of fellow-feeling before the imitative and displaying impulses has been accelerated by the policy of receiving young people into membership. The first young people were received in 1889, and from that time the number increased until in 1899 sixteen individuals under twenty-five years of age joined the society. Though the affairs of the Grange always have been administered by the older people, yet, in the social life, which is the chief feature of the organization, they have felt more and more called upon to "take a back seat."

The disappearance of the old-time fellow-feeling throughout the population is still more clearly seen in the history of the annual town fair. A country fair is an occasion where the farmers meet for a renewal of fellow-feeling and for mutual congratulation upon the harvest just gathered. Together they stroll among their exhibits of live stock, fruits and vegetables, and discuss together the good points in the products of their broad acres. They jostle each other at the horse race, vie with each other in tests of strength and dispute the asserted superiority of a neighbor's live stock or vegetables; but through it all runs an under-current of imperturbable good nature born of the genuine pleasure of being in a crowd of their kind.

After 1880 interest in the town fair began to wane, as is evident in the description of the fair given each year in the Blankville *Times*. Up to 1883 the account of the fair consisted mainly of a full description of the exhibits, including the names of those who received premiums. After 1883 there was no description of the exhibits, and after 1885 the names of those who received premiums were not given, the account being confined to the horse races and the balloon ascension. Efforts to revive the waning interest, as, for instance, the introduction of acrobats and parachutes, were without avail, and before 1890 the town fair had become a thing of the past. In 1891, after a lapse of three years without a fair, the Driving Park Association held its annual meet in connection with the fair and a parachute jump was advertised; but the fair part of the occasion, the exhibits of the products of the soil and the old-time renewal of fellow-feeling were lacking, and the attempt has not been repeated. The reason for the decadence of the town fair is not far to seek: the old-time fellow-feeling which once extended throughout the rural districts had disappeared. The crowd which gathered at the fair was no longer made up of men of like interests, but of "village farmers," working farmers and farm tenants. The village merchants and speculators drove on to the fair grounds "just to watch the crowd a few minutes" from their carriages and then drove away. The crowd was merely a source of amusement to them, and the farmers, not enjoying this kind of amusement-giving, remained away from the fair and left it to the village people, who soon made it exclusively a horse-racing event.

We have now traced the fundamental change worked by prosperity in the Grange Society and in the town fair. One of the notable characteristics of the pleasure-seeking epoch which resulted in the disintegration of the old-time fellow-feeling was the extravagant experimentation with new pleasures. Many of these experiments were very grotesque. For instance, at one function each gentleman was required to pay one-half cent a pound for the weight of the lady whom he led out to

supper. After 1890 such experiments ceased, functions being held in the most formal manner and, as has already been shown, in strict imitation of city usages. Occasionally, however, this formality relaxed sufficiently to allow indulgence in such entertainments as a "mock trial," or an "old maid's convention," or a "deestrict school," where there was an unrestrained indulgence in the primitive love of mimicry.

A more important phase of the pleasure-seeking activity following the period of prosperity is the extreme to which indulgence in particular pleasures was carried. While in the early part of our period the censorship of the church was still strong, pleasures regarded with favor were comparatively few, so that a new pleasure, once started, spread with great rapidity. Thus we have the spelling-match craze of 1876, and the surprise or "kissing" party of 1879, with four surprise parties recorded in the *Times* in one week. Other pleasures which have been extravagantly indulged in are cigarette-smoking and liquor-drinking, 1881-83; ice-cream-eating, 1885-86; and soda-water-drinking, 1890-93.

As the controlling power of the church diminished,[1] we note a tendency to carry to an extreme a defiant indulgence in those pleasures which had heretofore been proscribed. Horse-racing always had been regarded by the austere as a low amusement, betting being particularly sinful. Of the eighty-three stockholders of the Driving Park Association, only seven were church members or regular attendants at church, and several of these took stock for business reasons, not because they approved of horse-racing. In spite of this opposition, however, the church saw its members becoming more and more interested in horse-racing. The same is true of other proscribed amusements. Owing to the dancing and card-playing done in the Grange Society, and the card, pool and billiard-playing done in the village men's social club, the austere party has been the foe of these organizations. The latter has numbered

[1] One of the considerations which lifted parents above the fear of the church censorship was their belief that it was better for their children to "play cards and dance" than to go to "kissing parties."

almost no Baptists nor Methodists among its numbers, being made up of Presbyterians, Episcopalians and men attending no church. The Baptists and austere Presbyterians who joined the Grange in its early years have withdrawn from the society owing to the increasing prevalence of dancing and card-playing, and the church members now included in it are Episcopalians and convivial Presbyterians, with a few convivial Methodists. The growth of a convivial and an austere party within the church, thus making the church no longer identical with the austere party, will be described in the succeeding chapter. Suffice it to say here that there always had been many in the church who "wanted to play cards and dance, but dasn't do so for fear of the church." Many of this class now went to an extreme in indulgence in these pleasures, taking their part in the euchre party craze of 1887-89 and in the elaborate dancing parties of 1889-94. This defiance at first called forth a corresponding remonstrance on the part of the austere party of the church and also on the part of those churches which remained wholly austere. This remonstrance grew weaker, however, until, with the cessation of revival efforts in 1893, the Methodist and Baptist churches ceased to openly condemn card-playing and dancing. Since that time indulgence has tended to become less extreme, though the population is still far from moderate, as is evident from the card-playing craze of 1895-1900 and the dancing craze of 1899-1900 (Chart VIII) which went to such lengths as to call forth a plea for moderation from the Episcopalian clergyman.[1]

Horse-racing and liquor-drinking were the crazes which most immediately followed the period of great prosperity. In the Blankville *Times* for 1880-85 we find frequent warnings against fast driving on village streets. Farmers could not meet each other on the road without having a "brush." The young farmer's fondest boast was that no horse could pass him. This interest in horse-racing resulted in the formation of the Driv-

[1] This tendency to excessive indulgence in sensational pleasures is significant when considered in connection with the weakness of inductive ideational pleasure activity (Chapter IX).

ing Park Association in 1885, with a capital stock of $7,500. The association bought land in Blankville and constructed a driving park consisting of a half-mile track enclosed by a high board fence, a grand stand, judges' stand, stables and a hall for the use of the Agricultural Society during the town fair. That the prime movers in this enterprise included the aristocratic element of Blankville society may be inferred from the report in the *Times* of the opening "meet" at the "Gentlemen's Driving Park." "There were nearly eight hundred ladies present. All passed off quietly and orderly, as the gentlemen who manage the park propose shall always be the case. It is a gentlemen's driving park for pleasure, and is not run in the interest of sporting men. No pools were sold and no gambling device was allowed on the grounds." Pools were allowed at the next year's "meet," however, and thereafter. With the erection of the driving park the horse-racing craze reached its culmination, two meets being held in this year, one of them on the Fourth of July. Then came a waning interest in the sport, and after 1894 horse-racing had become a thing of the past.

Another form of sensational pleasure which shows the effect of prosperity is the Fourth-of-July celebration. The celebrations indicated in Table XVII were elaborate affairs, involving an expenditure of several hundred dollars. They included usually a parade participated in by visiting brass bands, fire and military companies and a display of fireworks. The celebrations of 1885 and 1890, particularly that of 1890, far eclipsed all others in splendor.

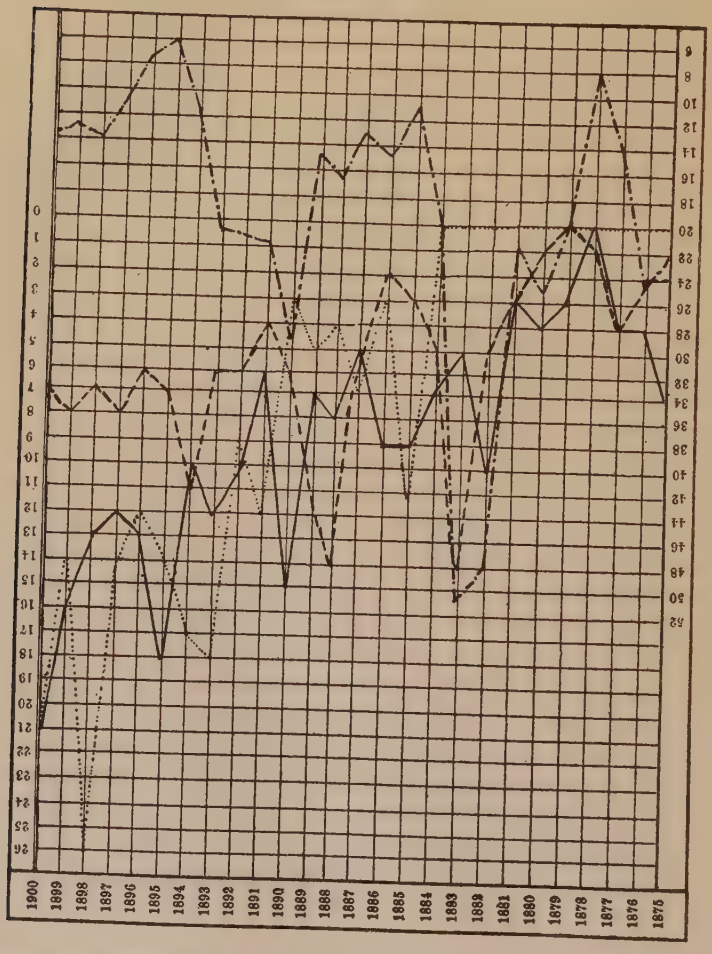
Turning now to the remaining forms of sensational pleasure noted in Table XVII, we take up the musical, dancing and card clubs. It is evident from the table that, although these amusements have been enjoyed simultaneously during the entire period, yet interest in first one then another has successively predominated. Interest in music, always less than that in dancing, had before 1890 become insignificant. Dancing, on the other hand, became more and more absorbing. In the Blankville *Times* of 1885 we read of the formation of an

orchestra "to meet the increasing need of dance music." Dancing henceforth shared with card-playing the important place in the pleasure activity of the female portion of the convivial class, predominating as a social pleasure during the second period of prosperity. After this time, interest in the less expensive amusement of card-playing equaled and in some years exceeded the interest in dancing. The dances of these later years, particularly since 1898, have been of the informal kind called impromptus, held frequently during the summer months whenever a traveling harpist or other cheap music could be secured. These facts will explain the course of the curves in Chart VIII. The dot and dash curve is the hop curve. The dash curve represents the number of concerts, the unbroken curve the number of dancing parties and the dotted curve the number of card parties which are recorded in the *Times* for the year specified, these curves being based on the figures at the right. We note first that, after 1889, the concert curve falls below the dancing and card curves. This shows a decrease in the influence of the austere party which favored and supported concerts in order to divert the minds of the young from dancing and card-playing. The second point to be noted is the marked response of the dancing and concert curves to the prosperity of 1879-84. The response of the card curve is delayed until 1885 owing to the fact that superfluous energy found its outlet first in the old-time spontaneous pleasure of singing and dancing. Not until after travel had widened acquaintanceship beyond the town were the more consciously imitative pleasures of euchre parties introduced. Direct economic influence upon the musical, dancing and card-playing activity of the town is confined to 1879-1884, excepting the influence of the adversity of 1894-97 in decreasing the number of elaborate dancing parties.

Theatre-going also shows a response to prosperity. Up to 1880 no more than three performances are referred to in the *Times* as occurring in Blankville in any one year. In 1880 the opera house was built, and in 1881 six performances are

recorded, and in 1882 thirteen. From this time on the number increased, reaching its maximum of thirty-three in 1890. After

CHART VIII.



1894 the number decreased rapidly, reaching ten in 1897, its lowest point since 1881. In 1898-1900 the number again increased.

The foregoing study of the effect of economic prosperity upon pleasure activity reveals but does not solve our problem. We are searching for motives. These are not revealed by this merely statistical study. Field-work is necessary for the study of motives, and the results of our field-work are reserved for the second volume. However, we may cite here one or two examples showing the necessity of going deeper than a mere historical and statistical study. Take the motives involved in card-playing. Some play from mere delight in the ideational processes involved in their own cleverness. Others "play to win," "as if their life depended on winning the prize." They want the prize as a visible sign of triumph or from desire for the thing itself. As has been said of Blanktown card-parties: "They don't think a card-party amounts to anything unless a prize is put up." They play "to beat," and "get mad" at a poor partner who prevents their side from winning.

Another type of disposition cares little about playing and little about winning. They play "just to be in the swim." Fashion determines the kind of game played, the euchre craze and the whist craze having had their day in due subservience to "city style" when many of the players would have enjoyed more thoroughly a game of poker.

Finally, there are those who care little about playing and little about winning and little about being in the swim, but play in order to enjoy the companionship of those who like to play. In the early days, when the housewife went "over to the neighbors" to spend the afternoon, they passed the time sewing, talking about their work and gossiping. To-day, many have no sewing to do and no work to talk about, and there is a growing tendency to condemn gossip. A social evening drags unless there is something to do, and card-playing serves the purpose. A great number of the population, many of them church members, have learned to play cards merely in order to make their companionship more desirable to persons they like.

It is evident, therefore, that we are not in a position to interpret the conduct of a people until we have gotten at their motives. Take another instance, that of the neatly kept lawns and freshly painted houses. Some people seem to keep the lawn mowed just for the pleasure afforded by its smoothness and richness; others do it because their neighbors do; others because "it don't look well not to have your lawn mowed, especially when visitors drive through our streets;" others because "our town must keep up its reputation as one of the prettiest villages in the state." Mere statistics of the number of lawns mowed show nothing as to this fundamental problem of motives. Field-work is therefore indispensable.

CHAPTER VIII.

PLEASURES OF EMOTIONAL IDEATION.

The chief pleasures of emotional ideation are the pleasures of religion. The religious life of the early days was analyzed in Part I, Chapter V. The present chapter aims to carry the analysis through the second period, while Chapter XIV will describe the fundamental difference between the religious life of the two periods. There are six churches in Blanktown, all of them with their meeting-houses in Blankville. They are the Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Welsh Congregational churches. We shall consider in our study the Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian churches only, because only for these four churches have we reliable statistics. Our sources for the study of church activity in addition to the Blankville *Times,* and the reports of various societies, are:

"Proceedings of the State Conference" (Methodist).

"Minutes of the General Assembly" (Presbyterian).

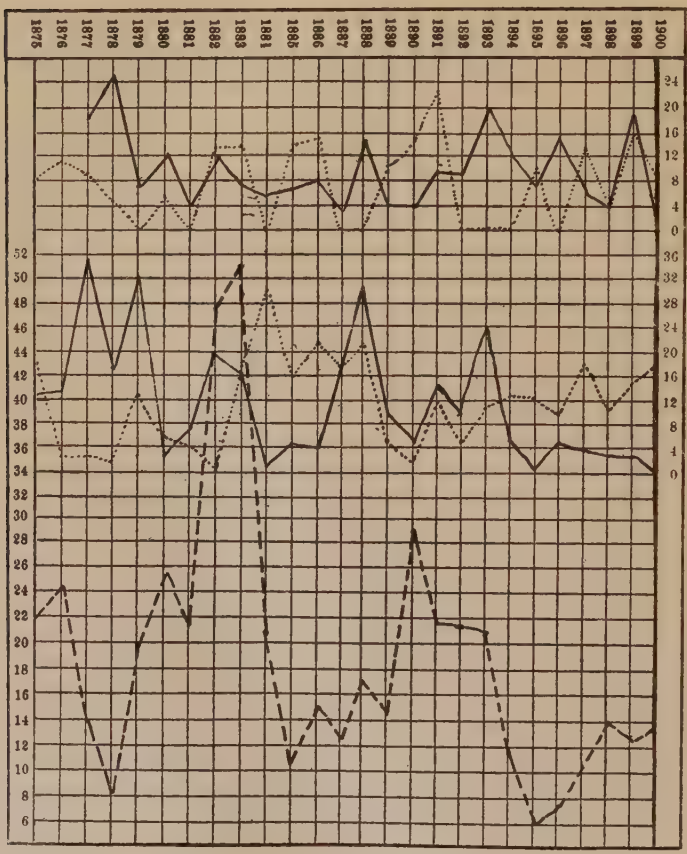
"Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church."

"Minutes of the Association" (Baptist).

The Methodist, Presbyterian and Episcopal reports we have complete for 1875-1900, the Baptist only for occasional years. The fiscal year of the Methodist society extends from April 15 to April 15; that of the Presbyterian society from April 1 to April 1; that of the Episcopal society from Easter to Easter. In comparing church expenditures with phenomena based upon the calendar year, we shall use, therefore, the figures of the reports of any particular year as representing the activity of the preceding year. To be sure, phenomena based on the ecclesiastical fiscal year and phenomena based on the calendar year are only roughly comparable, but, for our purpose, the comparison will be sufficiently accurate.

We shall begin our analysis by tracing the numerical increase or decrease of the membership of each church. In Chart IX, we have represented the number of persons who

CHART IX.



joined the Presbyterian (lower dotted curve), Episcopal (upper dotted curve), Methodist (upper unbroken curve), and Baptist (lower unbroken curve) churches, each year during the period 1875-1900. The following points are to be noted:

1. The Methodist curve up to 1882, and the Baptist curve up to 1883, excepting one year, move above the Presbyterian and Episcopal curves. This was due to revival activity in the two former churches, in which, in 1879, the Presbyterians joined, but reaped smaller returns than did the others.

2. In the period 1883-86, the dotted curves rise above the unbroken curves, owing to the fact that revival activity ceased in all four churches, and the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches being those membership in which conferred social distinction (Chapter XIV), grew faster than did the others. The relation between this change and the increase in economic prosperity will be explained later in the chapter.

3. In the period 1888-93, the Baptist curve moves above the Presbyterian curve, owing to renewal of activity in the Baptist church. The depression of the Baptist curve in 1894-1900 is due to the fact that since 1893 revival activity has ceased, and that membership in the Baptist Church has been socially disapproved owing to its severely austere type of mind.

4. Since 1893 the Methodist Church has grown remarkably, owing to the fact that it has come over to the convivial policy of the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches and has become a socially approved church.

This cursory review of the activity of the four churches reveals several changes in religious life, one of the most important of which is the passing of the revival. No revival since that of 1879 has aroused any excitement. This revival began in the Presbyterian Church, but as the evangelist, himself a Presbyterian, avowed, would have amounted to little had it not been for the cooperation of the Baptists and Methodists. The Presbyterians were, after this year, indifferent and sometimes actively opposed to revival attempts in the Baptist and Methodist churches, and on this account, revivals were confined to the immediate circle of the latter congregations. Perhaps a more important inhibitory force than the Presbyterian opposition has been the growing predomi-

nance of pleasures of receptive sensation. The Blankville *Times* in 1888 prints the following excerpt from the O—— F—— *News* (the weekly paper of a hamlet five miles distant): "The Baptist minister of Blankville has invited an evangelist to come and conduct revival services this week. As an offset to these meetings, which occur every evening, the young people will give a masquerade ball Friday evening. Is it quite appropriate that dancing parties should be given in Lent? The week of prayer was opened by a large leap-year party and then followed by religious meetings, but the meetings seemed to do no good." Thus the growing strength of the convivial party was regarded as responsible for the failure of revival efforts.

Along one line of activity, however, the austere party did not lose ground. In dancing, theatre-going, card, billiard, and pool-playing, they were waging a losing fight, but, in the matter of liquor-drinking, they held their own for a considerable time. At first there seemed to be a "letting down" here, also. The unprecedented prosperity of 1879-84 resulted in a very great increase in drunkenness. In 1883 there were ten saloons in Blankville, all of them doing a flourishing business. As one saloon-keeper expressed it, the period of prosperity "was a gold mine for us." In 1883 the Methodist people engaged a temperance lecturer to hold meetings in their church. The speaker's addresses consisted largely of stories of the fate of drunkards in this world and the next, told in a dramatic way, and leading up to the pledge to total abstinence as the only sure way of avoiding the miseries described. After four weeks of meetings, toward the close of which the excitement became intense, four hundred persons had signed the pledge. Upon his departure, the orator received $500, the voluntary gift of the citizens.

The total abstinence crusade was, in its origin, a manifesto of the austere party before the rapidly increasing self-indulgence of the community. Of the four hundred who signed the pledge, over three hundred were already total abstainers

and signed in order not to be a "cause of stumbling" before their "weaker brethren." This number included Baptists, Methodists, austere Presbyterians, and Welsh Congregationalists. Thus, less than a hundred were reactionary convivialites, and their reaction was only temporary. In 1886 the Blankville *Times* printed the names of the four hundred who signed the pledge and appended the sententious comment: "If all these people are keeping their pledge, who are supporting the eleven saloons of this village, a greater number than has existed ever before in our history?" In 1886 another temperance orator endeavored to arouse some enthusiasm but failed utterly and shook off the dust of the town from his feet, declaring that the people "have been raising hops so long that they are hardened in sin." From this time on, the austere party has lost ground along the total abstinence as well as other lines. Champagne and other liquors have come into greater use in social functions, and church members have indulged with greater freedom both in saloons and at home.

The decreasing interest in total abstinence is evident from the disappearance of temperance societies. In 1877 there were two temperance societies in Blankville, one Protestant and the other Catholic, but both had ceased to exist before 1880. In 1881-84 students of the Blankville High School carried on a society the members of which abstained from smoking, swearing, and liquor-drinking. In 1883 a men's temperance club and a women's temperance club were formed in Blankville as a result of the crusade, followed by a young women's temperance club. In 1885 a Catholic society was again organized. All these clubs had disappeared in 1886, and we hear no more of organized total abstinence.

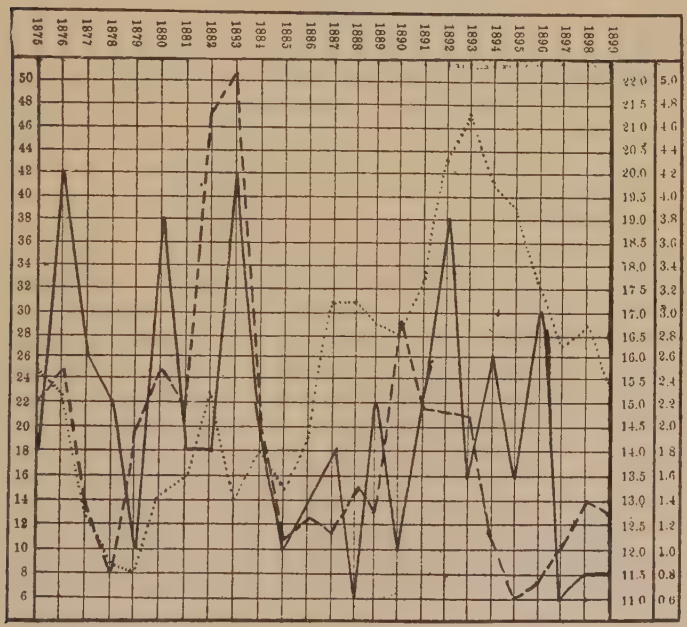
Thus, one important phase of the religious activity of the second period is the decreasing tendency of the churches to make special efforts to restrain conviviality. We turn now to a study of changes in the regular religious activity of the churches. As in the first, so in the second period, we find

little interest in doctrinal discussion. The subjects of sermons advertised in the Blankville *Times* are moralizing rather than doctrinal, that is, biblical character studies applied to present day life. The first evidence in the regular activity of the church of an awakening sense of its duty toward the increasing conviviality is the advertising of the subjects of sermons in the *Times*. This was begun by the Presbyterians in 1884 and imitated by the Baptists the same year. The Baptist minister, instead of the Sunday evening sermon, gave a series of illustrated lectures on the "Pilgrim's Progress." This innovation was opposed by the extremely austere element in the church, who regarded the pictures as "profaning the Lord's house." In 1885 the Methodists advertised subjects of sermons for thirty-eight Sundays, the Presbyterians for thirty-four, and the Baptists for twenty-five. In 1886, however, the Methodists had ceased to advertise, in 1887 the Baptists, and in 1888 the Presbyterians. Sermons were advertised three times in 1892, eight times in 1898, and six times in 1900. Thus the advertisement of subjects of sermons practically ceased after 1888, owing, as we shall see, to a waning interest in sermons and an increasing interest in other parts of the service. Blankville was not aggressively irreligious and skeptical, but simply indifferent. Christian doctrines were tacitly acknowledged as true, at least, in so far as they did not interfere with the increasing conviviality. In the *Times* there are occasional condemnatory references to the utterances of Ingersoll, and his views were spoken of disparagingly by the citizens in general, except when his remarks served to justify dancing or liquor-drinking from a biblical point of view. In short, Blankville simply adopted the "let alone" policy toward doctrines, sermons, and everything savoring of austerity in so far as it did not interfere with the general pleasure activity.

The result of the failure of the sermon to arouse interest in church activity was two-fold. The more thoroughly austere individuals grew less zealous in their efforts to interest

their neighbors in religion, and more interested in home and foreign missionary work. Chart X represents the per

CHART X.



capita expenditures of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches for parochial purposes (unbroken curve based on the first column of figures at the right), and the per capita expenditures for extra-parochial purposes, most of it for missions (dotted curve based on second column of figures at the right). The chart shows that with the era of prosperity, 1879-84, the churches immediately increased their expenditures for parochial purposes, while the missionary curve exhibits no very noticeable rise until 1887. In that year, however, there was a very great increase, and in 1891-93 a still greater increase in missionary contributions. The Baptists also increased their expenditures for missions about this time, but

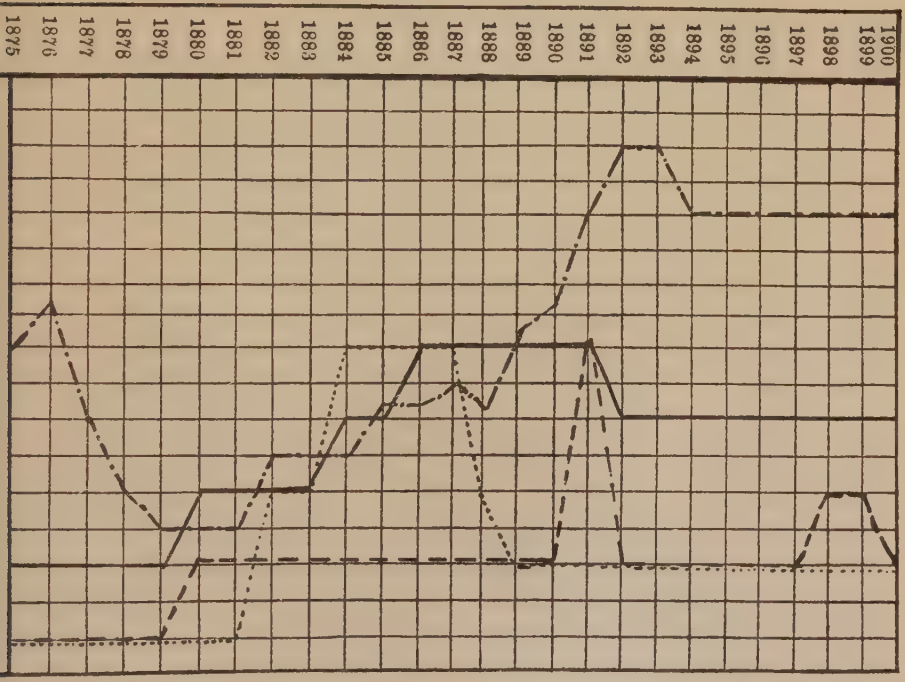
as we shall see presently, the austere reaction of that church took chiefly another form.

The second result of the failure of the church to attract the public by advertising its sermons was that, through the influence of the less thoroughly austere element in the membership, music was advanced to the first place in the service and the sermon relegated to a position of minor importance. One of the first effects of prosperity upon the church had been the improvement of the musical part of the service. Thus, in 1882, the Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Baptist churches purchased organs at a cost of $3,000, $2,000 and $1,000, respectively.[1] The rise of the unbroken curve of Chart X, in 1880-83, was due, partly, to these expenditures and to others which they entailed, as, for instance, the higher salaries paid the more skilful organists required to play upon the new organs and the better trained choirs required to accompany them. This increase of facilities for music did not, at first, however, make the musical part of the service of chief importance. Before the increase of facilities for music, the salaries of the ministers had been increased, the Baptist Church taking the lead here in 1880. Thus, at first, the effort was to increase the church's activity all along the line, the sermon still being, however, of primary importance. However, when the more expensive ministers failed to satisfactorily attract the public, music was raised to the position of chief importance. This change is first evident in the Baptist Church. In 1884 and 1885, the Baptist Church advertised in the *Times* the subject of the Easter sermon; but, in 1886, there was instead, an elaborate programme of Easter music including vocal and organ music and performances on the cornet and bass horn. The Episcopalians also advertised their Easter music in 1886; the Presbyterians followed in 1888, and the Methodists in 1891, and the custom was continued from this time on except in the Baptist Church, where it was discontinued after

[1] Other large items of expense were the parsonages built by the Baptists and Episcopalians in 1884 at a cost of $4,000 each.

1887. The increasing importance of the musical part of the service is shown in Chart XI which represents the number

CHART XI.



of dollars expended each year by each church for the support of its choir, the dotted curve for the Baptist, the dash curve for the Episcopal, the unbroken curve for the Methodist, and the dot and dash curve for the Presbyterian Church. All curves show a marked response to the prosperity of 1879-84. The Baptist, unlike the other curves, shows a decided depression after 1887. The innovation of a paid choir had always been obnoxious to certain Baptists, one of whom, when approached for a contribution to the church music, denounced the choir loft as the "devil's corner." This party gained

strength as the support of an expensive choir became more and more burdensome. Finally, after the cessation of the period of unprecedented prosperity and at the culmination of the annual winter "series of meetings," the austere party found themselves in the majority. The choir leader was discharged and the organist replaced by one less expensive. The convivial element in the church never afterward acquired a dominating position, and, one by one, they withdrew from the membership and joined other churches where conviviality was in greater favor. The other three churches continued their increased expenditures for music until these reached their maximum in the second period of great prosperity.

Thus in the period of great prosperity, all churches competed for popular favor. The most successful were the Presbyterian and the Episcopal, as is evident from Chart IX which showed that, in 1883-86, the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches grew faster than the Baptist and Methodist. The reason for this is that the former have been the churches of the upper social classes and membership in them has been prized as a means to social domination or to profitable submission. (Note the greater importance of the relief work of these two churches as described further on in the present chapter). We can not take up the problem of social classes in this volume. Suffice it to say that in the second period, wealth was the important factor in social cleavage, and the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches were the wealthy churches. The average per capita assessed valuation of the property of the members of the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches has been much greater, during our period, than that of the Baptists and Methodists. The average per capita total wealth of the former would be found to be still greater if statistics of total wealth were at hand, for those churches have included a larger proportion of stock and bond-holders than have the Methodist and Baptist churches.

Another reason for the greater social importance of the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches is that their members

have taken a more prominent part in the aristocratic conviviality of the town than have the Baptists and Methodists. There are several striking illustrations of this fact. At an afternoon tea given in Blankville, in April, 1902, regarded as the social event of the season, and attended by all women of the high social class excepting a small and very exclusive coterie in the Episcopal Church, about forty-three Presbyterian and eight Episcopal families were represented, but only two Methodist and no Baptist families. More conclusive evidence of the social differentiation of the sects is furnished by an Old Home Week picnic held in a Blankville park in August, 1902. Every family in the rural Blanktown was personally invited and every family in the village was invited, through notices from the pulpits and in the *Times,* to attend the basket picnic. However, only seventy-eight persons were present and of these, forty-nine were Presbyterians, twenty were Episcopalians, four were Methodists, two were Baptists, and three "belonged to" no church. Despite the effort to make it a town picnic, only eight were present from the rural districts, all of these from The Center. Thus, the picnic was, as the middle and lower social classes had said it would be in giving their reason for not desiring to attend, "an affair of the 'tonies' of Blankville." Not only the predominance of Presbyterians and Episcopalians, but also the way the picnickers congregated around the twelve tables from which they ate their lunch shows the fundamental lines of social cleavage. The Presbyterians and Episcopalians were pretty thoroughly mingled. At seven tables there were Presbyterians and Episcopalians, at two Episcopalians only, at one Methodists and Presbyterians, at one Methodists only, at one Baptists only. One of the significant events of the occasion was in connection with a speech made by an old gentleman in which he said that one of the finest characteristics of the life of the early days was the absence of caste feeling. Though the speaker evidently expected this point to be applauded, not a hand-clap was heard.

The Presbyterians and Episcopalians cooperate in pleasure activity not only in their individual capacity, but also as churches. Until lately, differences of doctrine had prevented the Episcopal from cooperating, as a church, with others. Thus, up to 1895, the Episcopalians had not united with another Sunday-school in their annual Sunday-school picnic. In that year, however, and again in 1899, they held a joint picnic with the Presbyterians. Prior to that year, the Presbyterians had held a picnic, occasionally, with the Baptist and Methodist Sunday-schools; but they did not unite with those schools afterwards. In 1896, the Methodists, Baptists, and Welsh Congregationalists held their picnic together.

The increasing cooperation of Episcopalians and Presbyterians, whose distinctive beliefs were as widely different in 1900 as in 1875, shows a decreasing interest on their part in sectarian dogmas and a corresponding increase in the importance of their like attitude to conviviality. These two sects have not opposed conviviality as uncompromisingly as have the Baptists and Methodists. The Episcopalians never have opposed dancing, card and billiard-playing, theatre-going and liquor-drinking. The austere party in the Presbyterian Church has been proportionally smaller and less extreme than that in the Baptist Church. There is no record of a sermon preached against any of the four proscribed amusements in the Presbyterian Church, after 1883. In fact, the minister, from 1883 to 1893, was known not to regard these amusements with disfavor. In the Presbyterian as in the Baptist Church, however, a reaction to austerity took place, with this difference, that, in the former, it was less extreme and proved to be only temporary. Its immediate cause was the refusal of the minister to pledge himself to give up moderate liquor-drinking, and its chief result was the forced resignation of the minister in 1893. This reaction to austerity is reflected in the history of the Presbyterian Christian Endeavor Society. This society was formed in 1884, and soon became one of the most popular organizations in town. It gave frequent entertain-

ments and was addressed by men who were and men who were not church members, on various topics, religious, literary, and scientific. In 1888, the name of the society was changed to the Young People's Association, according to the Blankville *Times* "on account of a feeling among some of the members that they were not doing the work of the societies of Christian Endeavor throughout the country, and, therefore, were not entitled to that name." The significant fact is that, in 1893, with the reaction to austerity, the name of Christian Endeavor was re-assumed. This austerity included, however, disapproval of only one of the proscribed pleasures, liquor-drinking. Those individuals who left the church upon the resignation of the minister were those who believed in and, in the case of some of them, indulged in moderate liquor-drinking. In the Baptist Church, on the other hand, the austere party, including practically the entire church, has, since 1888, disapproved of and preached against all four pleasures. Even the Baptist Church, however, has preached no sermons against these pleasures since 1893, the overwhelming popular sentiment in favor of them having made the advocates of austerity hopeless. Especially is this true, in view of the Methodists' desertion, since 1893, of the banner of the austere party.

Thus a process of social selection has been in progress. Just as the rural districts selected the austere characters and the village the convivial so the Baptist and Methodist churches, the membership of which has been more largely from the rural districts, have selected the austere from among the entire population, village and rural, while the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, the membership of which has been more largely from the village, have selected the convivial characters. Since 1893, the Methodists have become convivial and have selected the convivial characters of the lower classes of the village population. This selection once accomplished, isolation has tended to perpetuate the type. The isolation of the rural population has confirmed intolerance of conviviality, which accounts for the relatively strong prejudice still obtain-

ing in the country against the proscribed pleasures, particularly card-playing and liquor-drinking. The isolation of the members of the Baptist Church, resulting from social ostracism, has rendered their intolerance still more bitter. On the other hand, the convivial class, to show their defiance of the threats and warnings of the revivalists, have indulged recklessly and often extravagantly.

Thus far, we have outlined the following phases in the religious development of the second period:

1. There has been a decreasing interest in austere activity as seen in the decrease in revival activity since the temperance crusade of 1883, in the decrease in the importance of the sermon, and in the weakening opposition to proscribed pleasures.

2. There has been an increasing interest in the sensational features of worship and an increasing conviviality on the part of church members. Those churches which have given way to these tendencies most completely have become most influential.

3. There was a reaction to austerity in 1887-93 which, in the Baptist Church, took the form of a reaction to traditional austerity, and, in the other three churches, manifested itself in a marked increase in expenditures for missions.

We turn, now, to a study of minor religious societies. We shall note, continually, the tendency of the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, as already described, to increase in importance and to cooperate more intimately. Table XIX gives the names of the minor societies and the period of their existence, the capital letter written after the name of each society indicating the sect or sects represented in its membership. P stands for Presbyterian, M for Methodist, E for Episcopal, B for Baptist, C for Catholic, and W for Welsh Congregational. These societies may be classed as sectarian, that is, those formed and avowedly controlled by a particular sect, and non-sectarian, that is, those formed by cooperating sects and controlled by no particular sect. The sectarian societies may be sub-divided as follows:

1. Societies formed to raise money for parochial purposes or to assist the minister in parish work. To this class belong the Episcopal societies, with the exception of St. Andrew's Brotherhood, the Methodist and Baptist Aid societies, and the Presbyterian Improvement Society. Here the chronological order of formation is Methodist, Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian. The formation of the Baptist Aid Society and of the Presbyterian Improvement Society can be traced, directly, to the increase of prosperity. The Baptist society was formed for the purpose of raising money to pay for the new organ which the church members, elated by prosperity, purchased on the installment plan. The Presbyterian society was formed for the purpose of raising money to refurnish the church, the prosperous year of 1892 being regarded as particularly favorable for that enterprise.

2. Societies formed to raise money for the support of missionaries and to study missions. Of these there are two classes, the societies for adult women and the mission bands for children. Of the former, the order of formation is Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist; of the latter, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist. It will be observed that the increase in the number of missionary societies extends through the period 1887-93, and is thus simultaneous with the increase in the amount of money spent for missions (Chart X).

3. Those societies formed partly or solely for the purpose of holding regular religious exercises. To these belong the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Baptist and Presbyterian churches, the Epworth and Junior Leagues of the Methodist Church, the St. Andrew's Brotherhood of the Episcopal Church, the Young People's Religious Society of the Welsh Church, the Sodality Society of Catholic Young Men, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the Women's Auxiliary of A. O. H. Here the chronological order of formation was Presbyterian, Methodist, Welsh, Catholic, Baptist, Episcopal. It will be observed that, of all the sectarian societies, those whose purpose was least impulsive, namely, women's

TABLE XIX.

Society.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
Ladies' Missionary Society.....P.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ladies' Aid Society[1].....M.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Women's Auxiliary.....E.	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ladies' Aid Society.....B.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sunday-school Teachers' Training Class.....P.M.B.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Girls' Aid Society.....E.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor.....P.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Young People's Religious Society[2].....M.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Young Men's Sodality Society.....C.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Young Men's Christian Association.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Young People's Religious Society....W.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ladies' Missionary Society.....M.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Women's Relief Society	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor.....B.	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Children's Mission Band.....M.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Junior Epworth League.....M.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Association for Self-denial.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ancient Order of Hibernians.....C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Women's Auxiliary of A. O. H.....C.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Children's Mission Band .....P.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1
St. Andrew's Brotherhood.....E.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Children's Mission Band.....B.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Ladies' Improvement Society.....P.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Parish Aid Association.....E.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Women's Missionary Society.....B.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Junior Auxiliary.....E.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Junior King's Daughters.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ladies' Auxiliary of Y. M. C. A.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1

[1] King's Daughters after 1895. [2] Epworth League after 1890.

missionary societies and young people's religious societies, were formed first by the Presbyterians and imitated by the Methodists and Baptists, while the most impulsive, the mission bands, for instance, were formed first by the Methodists and then imitated by the Presbyterians and Baptists. In all cases, the Baptists have been the slowest to imitate. Thus the Methodists have been most radical, the Baptists most conservative,[1] while the Presbyterians have kept farthest from either extreme. The fact that there was no aid society in the Presbyterian Church until 1892 also bears witness to the more deliberate policy of the Presbyterians, for it is due to the fact that the business of the church has been done, more largely, by the male members, while in the Baptist and Methodist churches, particularly in the latter, the leaders in building and in refurnishing enterprises and in raising funds often have been the women.

Non-sectarian religious activity first took the form of the temperance societies already described. Besides these, there was formed in 1883, a training class for Sunday-school teachers. It included the teachers of the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Sunday-schools, the superintendents of the schools each taking his turn in instructing the class. The class continued only a few months, owing to sectarian prejudice, the Baptists failing to attend when the class was taught by a Presbyterian and the Presbyterians absenting themselves when a Baptist was the instructor. A similar attempt in 1892 likewise failed. Other spasmodic efforts for church unity during our period are the occasional union services which have been held by the Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist and Welsh Congregational churches. The Blankville *Times* shows these services to have been most frequent in the years 1883-84 and 1890-94 and 1900. In other years, they were held rarely or not at all. The Presbyterian church most often has been the leader in

[1] In this connection, it is significant that an interdenominational association formed in 1892 to carry on a crusade for self-denial by printed articles in the *Times* and by other means was made up largely of Baptists.

planning union services. Next come the Methodists and Baptists, while the Welsh Congregational has united only rarely and the Episcopalians not at all. In union services, the pastor of the church where the meeting was held has usually taken a minor part in the exercises, while the visiting minister has preached the sermon; or the ministers of the two or three uniting congregations each have preached a short sermon. For instance, in 1892, the Welsh Congregationalists and the Baptists united in a service, the Baptist minister preaching on "Christian Unity" and the Welsh minister on "Who is my Neighbor."

The most important non-sectarian religious society has been the Young Men's Christian Association. In 1885, an attempt to organize such an association failed, owing to the rush of general interest away from religion. In 1890, however, the reaction had set in and recurring prosperity encouraged a second attempt which resulted in raising $300 to equip association rooms and over $1,000 to meet the expenses of the association for one year. The purpose of the association was to furnish opportunities for athletic, social, and intellectual activity under Christian influences. Only Protestant church-members were admitted to full membership, though, upon payment of the fee, the privileges of the association were open to all members, whether church members or not. Dancing, card, billiard, and pool-playing, smoking, and liquor-drinking were not only not allowed in the association rooms, but to discourage these pleasures, generally, was the association's chief aim. During the first years of its history, the Y. M. C. A. was really, as well as avowedly, non-sectarian. Later, however, it became largely dependent for its support upon Methodist money and fell under the control of Methodist influence, though, in its administration and membership, it has remained non-sectarian.

All non-sectarian societies either soon have ceased to exist or, sooner or later, have come under the dominant control of a particular sect. Thus, the Woman's Auxiliary of the Y. M.

C. A. was intended to include women of all denominations, but only Methodists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians have been represented in its membership. The Junior King's Daughters, formed for the purpose of helping the poor, was avowedly non-sectarian, but included only Episcopalian and Presbyterian girls. The same is true of the Relief Society which was organized in 1887 for the purpose of relieving the poor of the village more bountifully than was done by the public Overseer of the Poor. The society was composed of women and was avowedly non-sectarian, though at least nine-tenths of its members were Presbyterians. For this reason, we shall refer to it as the Presbyterian Relief Society.

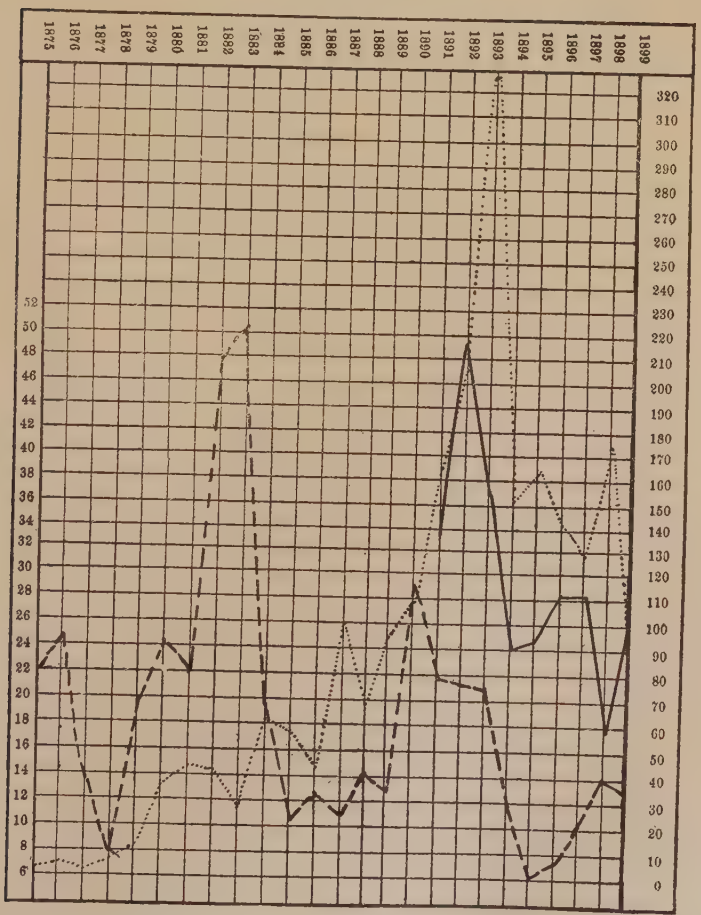
In the relief of the poor, as in other lines of activity, we find the Baptists conservative, the Methodists radical and the Presbyterians taking middle ground. Throughout the second period, the Baptists have continued to hold to the old-time conception of salvation as a salvation from suffering in the next world, not in this. As long as the entire community was obliged to suffer more or less privation, relief from suffering in this life was not expected. The strength of religion lay in its promise of a long rest in the next life. But, when the community had gained sufficient of this world's goods to put them beyond reach of suffering in this life, their interest in the next as a longed-for rest gradually waned. The old doctrine of salvation by self-denial (Chapter XIV) was gradually replaced by the new doctrine of salvation by generosity. Religious activity has increasingly assumed the form of pity for the poor and a generous relief of poverty. Relief of need, usually, however, has been extended with the motive of winning the person relieved to an adherence to traditional religion. Thus the new religious activity has been subordinated to the old religious beliefs. From this change in religious activity the Baptists have held aloof, relying on the old revival method rather than on the appeal of generosity in poor relief. For a time the Methodists did likewise, but finally went over to "Christian philanthropy." A characteristic instance of Methodist philan-

thropy was seen in the summer of 1897. A tent was erected on the outskirts of Blankville where the tramps who overran Blanktown, during the hop harvest in August and September, might obtain a meal on condition of breaking stone for half an hour. This convenient rendezvous drew tramps from every direction. Certain mischievous individuals posted signs along the railroad track reading, "Tramps wanted at Blankville"; and to this Mecca the stream of merry pilgrims wended their way. Arrived at camp they despatched with ease their stint of work, and after a bounteous repast were ready for whatever amusement offered itself. Some spent the long afternoon lolling in the shade beside still waters, others sang songs, pitched quoits, or played ball, and each and every one declared that, in all their travels, the people of Blankville were the "nicest people" they had ever met. The strangers were further entertained by a revivalist imported from New York for their special benefit and under whose ministrations several of them professed conversion.

Turning now to the Presbyterian relief society, we note that, in relief as well as other religious work, the course of imitation was Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist; the Presbyterian, in this case, imitating the Episcopalians. In addition to the change in religious beliefs, there was, in the Presbyterian Church, another cause of the increasing interest in relief work, namely, the desire of many individuals who had gone to an extreme in convivial activity for a new form of pleasure. In no church has the chief motive of relief work been an intelligent apprehension of the needs of the poor. The yearly amount expended has depended on the size of the relief fund rather than upon the extent of real need. The size of the relief fund has tended to be greater in periods of prosperity than in periods of depression, as has the amount expended for relief. This is evident from Chart XII, in which is represented the number of dollars expended each year by the Presbyterian (unbroken curve) and by the Episcopal (dotted curve) relief societies. Although the amount expended by each society prob-

ably corresponds to some increase in poverty, yet it is probable that much of the increased expenditure was unnecessary. Take, for instance, the great increase in the years 1892 and 1893.

CHART XII.



In the Presbyterian society this was due to the large profits ($179) from a charity ball held in 1892, which, in turn, were due to the prosperous condition of the town at that time. The

poor relief of the churches has been impulsive, not critical. Those engaged in it have been actuated by a desire not to extend practical help, but to give vent to their own feelings, either to enjoy a new form of pleasure or to perform a Christian duty. The former motive was predominant in the inception of relief work by the Presbyterians in 1887, the reaction from excessive conviviality taking this form as well as the form of greater expenditures for missions. Since 1893 relief work has greatly increased in importance, while missionary interest has decreased.

The waning interest in traditional religious activity has resulted not only in an increase of philanthropic work, but also in a movement not religious, but still emotionally ideational, namely, an increase in the number and importance of secret societies. There are several reasons for this, among which the more important are the following:

1. During prosperous periods the socially approved man was he who could make the most impressive display, particularly in giving elaborate parties and receptions. His membership in organizations was a minor consideration. The man who, without the help of friends or organizations, could stand the expense of a costly function was the man who won social domination. With the coming of adversity, however, and the leveling of individual incomes, rivalry for domination by the display of wealth changed to rivalry for domination through social relations with the wealthy. Membership in influential organizations was more and more sought after. Social functions tendered by organizations rather than by individuals now became the order of the day. Hence, the increase in the membership and in the activity of secret societies in the period of depression following the prosperity of 1893. The *Times* of 1892 records, as the "social event of the season," a party given in the finest hall of the town by two hop brokers. In 1901, however, the social event of the season was a reception given on New Year's day by the Masonic Society "in their magnificent new temple."

2. The increasing importance of secret societies since 1894 is also due to a craving for the stimulation of emotional faculties no longer satisfied by discredited religious doctrines. This craving has found satisfaction in the rites of secret societies, as these have been introduced in imitation of outside activity. Since 1894 the proportion of church members in secret societies has increased year by year. Since 1898 even the Baptists have joined in this movement. Thus, throughout the entire austere element of the population we note a decreasing interest in traditional religion and an increasing interest, particularly during the last decade, in the new religious activity of relief work and in the non-religious, but emotionally ideational activity of secret societies.

CHAPTER IX.

PLEASURES OF INDUCTIVE IDEATION.

The pleasures of inductive ideation are to be distinguished from the pleasures of emotional ideation by the fact that, in the latter, reaction to a fixed imaginative idea is the important fact, while in the former, the chief feature is the increase of and finer discrimination between ideas derived from external stimulus. The reaction to these ideas and, hence, the emotional element in the conscious state is of secondary importance. The inductive ideational pleasures, or simply pleasures of thought enjoyed by the population of Blanktown are of the simplest kind, consisting largely of the reading of current literature—newspapers, magazines and popular novels. There are no data for studying, statistically, the increase of interest in current literature during our period. The comparative interest of village and country, however, may be seen in Table XXII which gives the number of newspapers and magazines taken in Blanktown in June, 1900.[1] Of the daily papers, forty taken in Blank-

TABLE XXII.

Neighborhoods.	Daily Newspapers.	Semi-weekly Newspapers.	Weekly Newspapers.		Monthly Magazines
			Newspapers.	Magazines.	
Five hill neighborhoods	3	25	21	3	6
Six valley neighborhoods	51	75	150	37	60
Blankville	330	12	546	350	200

ville and one taken in The Center were Metropolitan dailies, the others were papers published in smaller and less distant

[1] The figures are approximate estimates of the postmasters of Blankwell, The Center, and Blankville.

cities. Most of the semi-weekly and weekly newspapers, with the exception of the Blankville *Times,* were X papers. Of these, the *Saturday Record* has much the largest circulation. The *Record* is a yellow journal of the lowest type, its specialty being graphic and descriptive accounts of crimes and criminals and of sensational catastrophes, as fires and railroad accidents. Sunday newspapers were taken only at Blankville and The Center, about twenty at The Center and one hundred and fifty at Blankville. Of the weekly and monthly magazines taken in the rural districts, the *Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping* and *American Agriculturalist* had the largest circulation. No religious paper was taken in any rural district excepting two Christian science papers at Blankwell and twelve "denominational" papers at The Center. In Blankville over one-half the weekly magazines were religious and a considerable part of the remaining number were juvenile. The bare figures do not adequately represent the greater interest of Blankville in current literature as compared with the rural districts, for many of the daily, weekly and monthly papers taken in the village are on the tables of societies and clubs, so that a single copy is read by several individuals.

This brief survey of the current literature read in Blanktown shows that the rural districts are chiefly interested in those papers which bear on their work, while the main interest of the village is in literature which affords complete relaxation. The townsman's superficial interest in the world at large is beginning to spread to the country, but has not, as yet, had any influence on the deep-seated adherence to custom of the country; the chief traits of character are still, persistence and self-denial. The "old fogy notions" of the countryman the glib-tongued townsman ridicules and sophistically controverts with his odds and ends of information, but the self-reliant ingenuity of the farmer, as seen in mending a harness or building a bridge —in fact, continually, in doing his daily work—this inductive, practical, independent habit of thinking is not fostered by the noise and stir of a village street and is not characteristic of

the townsman. The farmer's thinking is apt to be too little reflective, however; too much of a narrow, practical kind—the servant of blind persistence. Thus, less than five per cent of the farmers of Blanktown take sufficient interest in the all-important problem of fertilizing their land to read any literature on this subject, excepting what they may casually run across in the "Agriculturalist." They buy their fertilizer of a neighbor or of the agent who happens to call first, or, more often, of the agent who sells the lowest-priced article, without regard to its chemical composition or to the needs of their soil, and they do this after the admirable "Report of the Analyses of Commercial Fertilizers," published by the —— Experiment Station, has been brought to their attention and they have been told that they could have a copy sent them by writing for it. In his economic activity the farmer still moves according to custom, while the townsman is alert and open to suggestion.

That the pleasures of thought of Blanktown are, in the main, superficial is evident further from the nature of the books which compose the public library. This library is incorporated under state laws with three trustees appointed by the Board of Education. All adult persons living in Blankville and all other persons having children in the public school may take books from this library to their homes to be kept not longer than two weeks. As a matter of fact, the library is used only by Blankville people, The Center and Blankwell people drawing books only occasionally and other neighborhoods not at all. Of the 2,421 volumes in this library in 1900, 1,210, or one-half the total number were classed in the catalogue as fiction, 316 as biography, 263 as history, 127 as "travel and description," 165 as poetry, 73 as science, and 267 as "essays, general literature and miscellanies." With the exception of two works by Mr. Darwin and one volume by Mr. Huxley, the science is of the popularized variety. Under "essays, general literature and miscellanies" come works of such authors as Taine, Thackeray, Matthew, Arnold, Ruskin,

Lowell and Holmes, together with a considerable number of books of no literary value. With the exception of one book by John Fiske, one by R. T. Ely, Bryce's "American Commonwealth," and De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America," there are no books on political science. There are only five books treating of psychology, philosophy, and pedagogy. Considering that one-half the total number of volumes are fiction, and over one-half the remaining number are biography, travel and description and poetry, it would seem that the reading public prefers light reading appealing to the imagination to the more serious products of logic and induction. This is the opinion of the administrative board which has adopted the policy of furnishing what books the public like to read without making any attempt to educate public taste by placing on the shelves some books of a better sort. The fact that the study clubs, to be described presently, are obliged to secure the books they use from outside sources shows that the town is not generally interested in serious reading. It also shows that the members of the reading clubs, who compose part of the population of the town, are not interested in serious reading outside their club meetings. In fact, if we consider what books are read rather than what books stand on the library shelves, we shall find practically no interest in serious reading, the biographies, histories and essays being seldom, and the works on natural and political science never read. Reading is confined almost wholly to popular novels.

A study of the books on the tables and shelves in the homes of the people leads to the same conclusion. Occasionally, a family invests in a set of encyclopedias and places them in a conspicuous place in the parlor; but the book most in evidence in the village homes is the popular novel. The country people scarcely have been affected by the novel reading craze, the books in a rural home consisting mainly of a few antiquated specimens purchased of some book agent. The farmer has no use for books. He cares nothing for books explaining new productive methods, for he is averse to doing work except in

the customary way.[1] Books, as a means of recreation, are equally repulsive. However, that the rural will follow the village population, though tardily, in increasing its reading, both for work and for pleasure, is evident from the slight but growing interest in experiment station work, and from the decreasing shamefacedness with which the farmer, when he sits down after supper, asks his boy: "Where is that last *Argosy* you brought home."[2]

Turning now to associated reading and study, Table XXIII represents the clubs which have existed in Blanktown during our period, for the purpose of enjoying together pleasures of thought.[3]

TABLE XXIII.

Clubs.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
Men's Debating Club (Lyceum after 1878)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Reading Clubs.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	5
Study Clubs.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Alumni Association..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

The debating club was formed in the fifties and until after 1870 included in its membership Blankville's prominent citizens. The weekly meetings of the club were devoted to hard-headed debating, the formal debate being followed by a sharp and informal discussion open to all. The important political and moral questions of the day were "tackled" in such a serious and decisive manner that in 1859 the younger members of the

[1] The Public Library contains only one book on scientific agriculture, "Hop Culture," by Meeker & Lawrence.

[2] The processes by which reading for pleasure and profit is increasing are the processes of industrial and sympathetic selection (Chapter XV). The first is weeding out of the population those individuals who do not read—the "back-number" farmer, tenacious and hidebound in his hold on old customs, and the convivial farmer, neglectful of his work and extravagant in his enjoyment of new pleasures. The second is disseminating a taste for and nurturing ideas derived from reading.

[3] All these organizations, excepting one reading club, formed at The Center (1890-1900) in imitation of the village clubs, are Blankville clubs.

club, realizing their inability to cope with the older and more experienced debaters, withdrew and formed a society of their own. Soon after 1870, however, interest in debating began to wane and after 1878 the club had ceased to exist. Its place was taken by a society called a Lyceum which included in its membership the upper social classes. The Lyceum conducted a lecture course, that is, a course of some six entertainments, consisting of three or four lectures by such men as George R. Wendling, Lew Wallace, and John B. Gough, and of two or three concerts or impersonations. These entertainments were open to the public, the admission fee being from twenty-five to fifty cents. The Lyceum also held meetings in which certain members gave lectures on their travels in Europe; or one member read an original poem and others sang; or there was a mock trial, or a symposium upon the desirability of Blankville as a residential village. It was no longer necessary for the younger members to hold their meetings separately for the exercises no longer involved an intellectual conflict; hence, a fair degree of intellectual equality was no longer necessary. The members of the Lyceum gradually differentiated into other clubs, one element into the card and dancing clubs and another into the study clubs, until, in 1887, the society ceased to exist. The public lecture course was continued first by one and then by another organization, but the lecture part of it became less and less important, consisting, finally, of but one lecture to four or five entertainments, until the course was abandoned.

One reason for the decreasing interest in the lecture course is the fact that oratory arouses less enthusiasm and wields less power in these days than in an earlier time when men were controlled more by personal impression and less by their own shrewdness. But a more important reason is the increasing interest in magazine reading, causing the pleasantries of a popular orator and the information contained in his lecture to be less appreciated by an already satiated public. Magazine reading in Blanktown centres around the reading clubs, which

were formed for the purpose of securing for each member the use of a large number of magazines at a small expense. These clubs were started in imitation of the one formed first which in turn imitated a club in the neighboring village of C——. In the two clubs which have existed in Blanktown throughout our period, there is no evidence of a change from more serious to lighter reading, like the change which took place in the debating society and the farmers' discussion club (Chapter XII). The proportion of lighter magazines, like *Harper's,* and of more serious ones, like the *Scientific American,* has remained about the same.[1] In the clubs formed later, the proportion of light to more serious periodicals is greater than in the clubs formed earlier in the period, the former being more inclined to read what they *like* and more impatient of that subservience to social propriety which compels individuals, regardless of personal like or dislike, to read what they *ought.*

The motives of magazine reading may be individualistic or social or individualistic-social. The individualistic motive is seen in the farmer who takes the *American Agriculturalist* in order to keep up with the newest methods in productive activity; the individualistic-social in the professional man who takes up *Puck* for a moment's recreation, and the social in the reflective man who reads because he wishes to know which way thought along a particular line is trending. The impulse of domination is seen in the pompous man or woman who likes to astound the listener with his or her fund of information or profound observations; the impulse of submission in the man or woman who is astounded and abashed by his or her lack of information on a certain point, resolving straightway to begin reading magazines in order to keep up with the times. This impulse is evident in the club member who remarked that she liked the *Literary Digest*

[1] The magazines taken in 1902 by the reading club formed first are: *Atlantic, Century, Cosmopolitan, Country Life, Good Housekeeping, Harper's Weekly* and *Monthly, Independent, Ladies' Home Journal, Leslie's Weekly, Life, Lippincott, Literary Digest, Magazine of Art, McClure's, Munsey, Puck, Review of Reviews, St. Nicholas, Scribner's, Scientific American, Success, Youth's Companion.*

because it enabled her to "keep up with the times with the least effort." The motive of sympathy is evident in the person who takes a "denominational" paper in order to keep in touch with the progress of his or her church; the desire for recognition in that one who wishes to make his companionship prized by showing himself decently informed about those events and enterprises in which others are interested. The chief motives of the reading clubs are the motive of sense of need of recreation and the impulsive motives of domination and submission. Even individuals in whom the motives of sense of productive or of reflective power predominate often manifest the impulse of domination. Thus, persons who detest display of all sorts, including a display of learning, sometimes have their interest in scientific studies and their taste for the society of scientific individuals intensified by the desire to show their unlikeness to the person displaying wealth and to impress the latter with a sense of his or her inferiority.

The purpose of the reading clubs is simply the reduction of the expense of magazine reading. The study clubs were formed, however, for associated study—the study of history. The later study clubs were formed in imitation of the one formed first, which, in turn, imitated an outside club. These clubs include about seventy members. Most of them, as in the reading clubs, are village women, there being only three members from the country—all of them from The Center. The method of work of all the study clubs is similar. Each appoints a committee to outline the work for the year and the outline is printed in the form of a weekly programme and a copy given to each member. The exercises of each meeting consist of the reading of extracts from various books bearing on the topic given in the programme, by different members selected by the leader, or, as sometimes happens, the leader may read a paper, thus, herself presenting the whole subject and occupying the entire time devoted to the literary exercises. There is a recess for "visiting," and a social hour at the end of the exercises for visiting and refreshments. The programme for each year

is devoted to the study of a single country. All clubs began with the study of European history and then took up American history. This was, however, not from a logical sense of order, but from a taste for the remote and mysterious rather than the proximate and practical. In the club which has been longest in existence, the study of Egypt, Persia and India preceded that of our own country.

In the formation of the first study club, we discern the following motives:

Individualistic motives: There were a few individuals who had, to some extent, that curiosity which leads to reading for its own sake, and who, when approached, signified their willingness to join a club for associated study.

Sympathy and desire for recognition: Certain members of both the convivial and the austere classes who had gone to an extreme in sensational or in religious activity, in the reaction from the same, experienced a desire to enjoy each other's companionship by associating in a form of activity in which harmonious participation was possible,[1] that is, which was neither sensational nor religious; hence the study of history.[2]

Impulses of domination and submission: Before 1886, various influences, among them the influence of Blanktown college students and the increasing social distinction accorded parents who had children "away at school" had caused a semblance of interest in intellectual pursuits to count in the struggle to gain social domination. Individuals who

[1] In the study of history, friction has been avoided by keeping clear of historical facts bearing on religion. In the administration of the affairs of the club, however, there has been occasional conflict, as, for instance, over the question of postponing a meeting which happened to clash with a card-party.

[2] About 1887 several transitory literary societies sprang up. These are not mentioned in the table because their number and the period of their existence can not be definitely ascertained. They were formed for various purposes, chief of which was the desire to avoid excessive sensational or religious activity. Thus the Young People's Literary Society of the Baptist Church was formed for the purpose of "giving the young people a more profitable way to spend their evenings than in card-playing and dancing."

lacked the wealth necessary to enable them to raise their social status, now sought the study club as a means to this end.[1] Thus the imitation of the cultured classes in the population is a two-fold phenomenon—a submission to the classes above and a domination of the classes below. The desire for domination, as we shall see, also influenced parents to send children away to school, money spent in this way tending to secure an increasingly great domination as compared with money spent for sensational pleasure.

The impulse of domination in the study clubs is seen, also, in the method of conducting the meetings. This is particularly true in the two clubs of older women, where the leader often reads a paper occupying the entire period devoted to literary exercises, and the members are expected to listen in absolute silence, asking no questions, making no corrections, and, at the conclusion of the paper, lavishly complimenting and flattering the author. As one member said, "In the young women's club, the leader accepts correction if a word is mispronounced and allows those present to freely ask questions. But, in our club, if a leader is interrupted, she flies all to pieces."

The club members, as a rule, are more interested in other social activity than in that of their clubs. Thus, as one member said, contemptuously, "The clubs are always ready to postpone a meeting which happens to come on the same afternoon as a card-party." Furthermore, the interest of the club lies, not in the literary, but in the social features of its regular meetings. As one member said, "Recess is no sooner announced than their apathetic look gives place to a most animated expression, and soon they are all talking at once, and often so loud that you can't hear yourself think." The talk is *not* about the historical topics just canvassed, nor, in fact, has it perceptibly a literary flavor. Finally the chief interest of the club lies not in its regular meetings, but in the annual "recreation meeting," the exercises of which consist of music,

[1] The part played by wealth and other elements determining social status in securing admission to the clubs will be described in the second volume.

cards, dramatics, or a "spread." The rivalry of the clubs centres in this annual meeting, the clubs of the older women, particularly, trying to outdo each other in those displaying features which can be elaborately reported in the Blankville *Times*. Thus, we conclude that, as the reading of serious magazines by the reading clubs, so the literary features of the study clubs are due to submission to the canons of social propriety as laid down by women's clubs "in cities" rather than to a real individualistic curiosity and hunger for knowledge or to a sympathetic interest in literary work. A sympathetic interest is best seen in the mother, who, by herself, and in the intervals of daily toil, takes up a University Extension course, like the Chautauqua course, in order that she may prove a more interesting companion for her children away at school, and, also, that she may be able, intelligently, to keep them from drifting too far from the old beliefs.

In the activity of the study clubs, the impulses of domination and submission predominate—submission to extra-town canons of propriety, domination of the lower classes of town society. The tendency of the "uneducated" classes to "look up to" the "educated," and of the latter to "look down on" the former and to endeavor to domineer over them by ridiculing their grammatical errors of speech or their homely expressions of opinion, is increasing throughout Blanktown. Social disapproval of the uneducated was directed in early Blanktown only against those who could not read nor write, while today it is inability to speak correctly which relegates a person to the uneducated class, although, in all other intellectual qualities, the criticized may excel the critic. The members of the study clubs aspire to form the elite of the educated class. They are interested not so much in the subject matter studied, as in gaining a reputation for serious work. Their chief pleasure consists not of the intellectual pleasure of real inductive study, but of the imaginative pleasure of displaying a serious purpose of study. As one critic expressed it: "They're not thinking, but only think they're thinking."

In the elaborate functions described in the chapter on pleasures of receptive sensation, the chief pleasure lay in the host and hostess imagining themselves to be powerful individuals in view of the wealth they were displaying. In the study clubs, the chief pleasure of the members lies in their imagining themselves to be deep students.

That part of history is selected for study which appeals to the imagination. Thus, the printed programme calls largely for a description of historic cities, scenery and persons, rather than for a narration and explanation of events. The study of the younger women is avowedly descriptive: "We didn't want to study dry history like the older women. So we decided to travel and named our club the Travelers Club." The work of the other clubs is really, though not avowedly, similar to that of the young women. Thus, one member described the method of study of the first period of American history by saying, "We came down the coast with the explorers and followed them into the interior of the continent," the chronological order of the explorations being violated in order to follow this imaginative order. Interest centres in the beginning of history, in the deeds of mysterious heroes living in remote countries in the dim past, rather than in those events and policies of later history which have a direct and practical bearing on the life of to-day. This sort of information serves well the purpose of the dominating impulse, because it is impressive and does not arouse the critical faculty as do better known events. The critical faculty manifests itself only in a servile adherence to the literal and a bookish reliance on authority. "These are his exact words," is the customary formula which most effectively settles disputes.

The type of mind of the study clubs and of much of the convivial activity of the town being alike imaginative, the counter-balancing effect of club activity upon excessive conviviality is less weighty than is presumed in the following extract from an editorial in the Blankville *Times*: "As the frequency of whist parties among the ladies has been noticed

from time to time, it may be well to bring to the attention of the readers of the *Times* that there are three flourishing literary societies composed of about seventy ladies who meet every week for three hours of study. While the dates of these are often changed on account of some social function, there is never an omission. . . Thus it will be seen that the women have not gone daft upon social pleasures to the exclusion of subjects that materially improve them mentally."

Turning now to the remaining society mentioned in Table XXIII, the Alumni Association of the Blankville High School, we find that, like the study clubs, it was the result of a conscious effort on the part of individuals who had gone to an extreme in convivial or austere activity to associate in an activity which should be neither sensational nor religious, but of a kind which all could enjoy together. Up to the time the association was formed, the close of the school year had been celebrated by a dance called a "reunion," which, however, was a reunion only of those who approved of dancing. It was proposed to have, instead of a dance, a reception, banquet, and toasts. The first banquet was held in 1892 with great enthusiasm. That of 1893 also was a success. From this time interest waned. Three more banquets were held, in 1897, 1898 and 1900, since when the association has practically ceased to exist, and the old-time dance has been re-installed.

Our study of the development of social pleasure in Blanktown may be summarized as follows:

1. Development of social pleasure has varied with different degrees of intimacy of association of families with each other and with the outside world. Thus, the more thickly settled rural districts have developed faster than the more sparsely settled, where each homestead is so remote from the other that members of one household see others only occasionally, and where there is no door-to-door gossip or gate-to-gate argument or furtive peering from the window to see what the neighbors "are up to." More thickly settled rural districts, on the other hand, like The Center, did not develop so fast as Blankville, which had a denser population than the country and was more closely associated with the outside world.

2. Development of social pleasure has varied with differences in individual character. Thus the Welsh, while enjoying the same intimacy of association as the Irish, adopt new pleasures less readily. Among the Welsh, pleasures of emotional ideation predominate, and these inhibit pleasures of receptive sensation which quickly spread among the Irish.

3. The profits accruing from the period of prosperity were taken in that form of wealth which satisfied the dominant motives of each individual. Most immediate and marked in their response to prosperity were pleasures of physical activity and of receptive sensation. Of these, the customary forms first increased in importance, as music and dancing, horse-racing and liquor-drinking; then came the new pleasures, as teas, euchre parties, and the theatre. Another marked response to the period of prosperity was the increase in the activity of the churches. This, at first, took the customary form of a crusade against intemperance and an effort to interest the public in the regular services by advertising their chief feature, the sermon. Then came the stage of imitative activity as seen in the increase in the importance of the musical part of the service. This was followed by a reaction against sensational innovations, which, however, did not cause a return of revivals, crusades, and other customary forms of local propagation of doctrine, but took the initiative form of increased missionary and philanthropic activity. We find the churches making great efforts to increase their contributions to missions so that these would exceed those made by other churches, as recorded in the printed yearly report of each denomination. This activity has, lately, subsided before the increase of still later forms of emotional ideation, namely, relief work and the number and importance of secret societies. Not until after the increase in pleasures of physical activity, receptive sensation, and emotional ideation, do we find an increase in pleasures of thought. These consist, mainly, of the acquisition of such facts as may be gained in the cursory reading of newspapers and magazines under the influence of the desire to "be well-informed." This acquisition of facts tends to encourage

the habit of reading for its own sake by broadening intellectual interests, and hence to render the desire to be well-informed less and less influential as a motive. As yet, however, the pleasure of reading, for its own sake, is less important than the pleasure derived from the respect and deference accorded the well-informed individual. But, the fact remains that reading and study from social motives is a first stage in the development of a taste for real inductive study.

The question now arises, how shall we explain the delay in the increase of the pleasures of thought and their superficial nature when, finally, they came into vogue? There is no inherent reason for the delay. Wealth gives the necessary leisure for reading and study as well as for card-playing and dancing, and the one is no more expensive than the other. The explanation must be found in the lack of aptitude for pleasures of thought on the part of the social population previous to the period of prosperity. Not until pleasures of receptive sensation and emotional ideation began to cloy did those who had gone to an extreme in these pleasures begin to desire association with each other in study clubs.

The infrequency of thought pleasures in the early part of our period is not to be ascribed to lack of imitative influences outside the town. To be sure, the great increase of cheap books and magazines in late years is partly responsible for the recent increase in reading, but in the earlier years there were abundant imitative influences in the towns surrounding Blanktown to which there was no response. In ——, twelve miles from Blanktown, is a first-rate college, and in ——, ten miles distant, another, both of them well-known institutions of learning. With the literary circles centering around these schools, as well as with those in the city of X——, twenty-two miles distant, Blanktown could have established social relations had the population been so inclined. With one or two exceptions, however, relations with surrounding towns have been for the purpose of enjoying pleasures of physical activity, receptive sensation, and emotional ideation, not pleasures of

thought. The first reading club in Blanktown was formed in imitation of one in ——; in 1899, a clergyman from —— gave a course of lectures on Browning in a private house of Blanktown. Excepting these two occasions, Blanktown has not responded to the thoughtful influences of surrounding towns. This seems to be due to a pronounced inaptitude for such pleasures.

Having shown why sensational predominated over ideational pleasures, we face the final question, why did pleasure activity outstrip productive activity? The answer involves an analysis of the interaction of industrial and sympathetic selection which can only be outlined here, the thorough analysis being reserved for the second volume. The choicest product of industrial selection was the shrewd hop speculator. His business success was most astounding and his general activity most dramatic. Hence, it was this man who fixed the attention and stirred the imaginations of the young. With their attention centered on him, they imitated his pleasure activity more readily than his success in business, and his pleasure activity was, mainly, sensational. The influence of the speculator as compared with that of the farmer was further increased by the oft-demonstrated superiority of the former in business transactions. The farmer, with his notions of frugality and self-denial, was called "an old fogy," and self-indulgence was associated with success in business. The reputation of Blankville as a centre of sensational pleasure activity being thus established, a population characterized by these traits has been recruited from all directions. "Monied" men of convivial tastes rather than productive efficiency have immigrated into Blankville and pleasure-loving natives have remained there, while young men with business or professional ability have emigrated to the city. Thus, Blankville has selected pleasure-loving rather than work-loving individuals and has tended to become a more and more pronounced pleasure centre.

CHAPTER X.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE: GOOD GOVERNMENT.

In the preceding chapters on social pleasure we studied the play activity of the population—that activity which depicts most truly, the nature of the social mind. The enjoyment of pleasure depends, however, upon work activity. Work furnishes the material means and the conditions which must be met before pleasure can be enjoyed. Furthermore, only that population which is capable of efficient work has the intellectual qualifications necessary for varied and progressive pleasure. The social welfare depends, therefore, upon efficiency in work. The present and succeeding chapters will deal with the efficiency of the population of Blanktown in securing those conditions necessary for social progress. This is, of course, a continuation of our study of the social mind, for the mind is the important factor in all activity, work and play. We can not make a sharp distinction between social progress and the conditions necessary to its realization. The conditions are facts of progress. In this and the succeeding chapters, however, we shall attend mainly to the social welfare, that is, to the efficiency with which the population of Blanktown has fulfilled the conditions of social progress. The conditions of social progress are four, namely, beneficent government, local, state and national, which is attained through political activity; the equitable adjustment of disputes and enforcement of law and custom attained through juristic activity; the abundant production and just distribution of wealth attained through economic activity; and, finally, the diffusion of knowledge, artistic and scientific, and the maturing of a true conception of life and duty which is attained through educational and religious, or, in short, cultural activity. The present chapter will deal with the first of these conditions, namely, good government. In how far is the political activity of Blanktown of a sort to

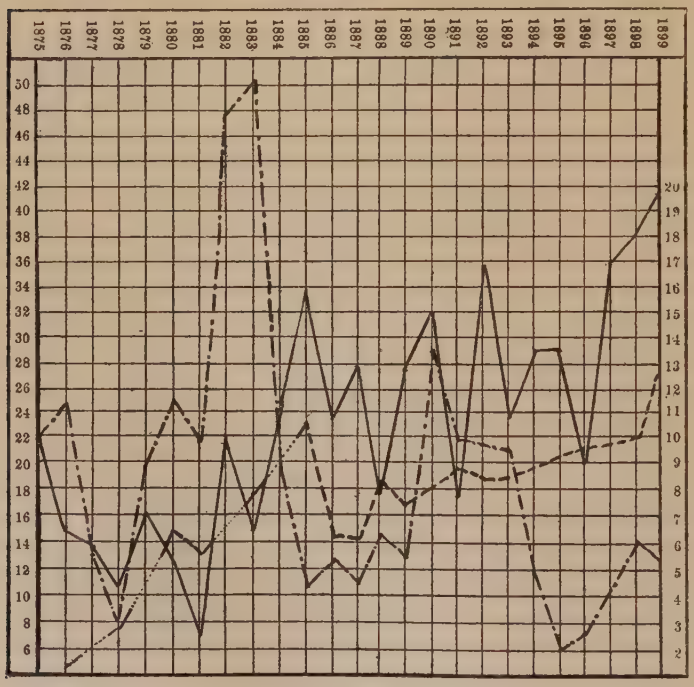
secure the beneficent administration of local, state and national affairs?

The most important fact in Blanktown's political activity is the difference between the attitude of the population to town and village politics and their attitude to state and national politics. In town and particularly village politics, individual interest is the motive behind each vote, while, in state and national politics, the motive is personal or party allegiance. In local administration, the citizen can clearly see how his money is expended and can criticize every move made by officials. Furthermore, the officials have their haunts and homes in his neighborhood, and, being easily accessible and often met, they are amenable to personal rebuke or praise. Owing to these facts, the town and particularly the village administration has been very efficient. The services of experts have been sought and secured. The office of village president usually has been filled by a successful business man; the health officer usually has been a physician. Offices which do not require expert knowledge, however, as, for instance, the office of village collector, are given to the candidate who "needs it most." This sympathy with the poor has enabled the inefficient man to get into politics and, once in, he often has managed to stay in.

In the administration of town affairs, the demand for efficiency is less insistent than in village administration. Partisanship and sympathy here play a more important part. During the second period, the supervisor has not usually been a successful business man. The office of assessor is the one in which the greatest care has been taken to secure the services of experts. One of the most notable examples of town administrative inefficiency is afforded in the management of the town poor relief. Our statistics (which we have only for the second period) reveal the same tendency which was shown by private philanthropy, namely, the increase of expenditures in prosperous times and their retrenchment in periods of depression. Two series of statistics are available, the amount paid

physicians each year for treating the sick poor and the amount expended for other out-relief. In Chart XIII, these statistics are correlated with the economic curve, the dash curve representing the per capita number of cents expended for treating the sick poor (the dotted portions indicating the years for which we interpolate) and the unbroken curve the amount

CHART XIII.



expended for other out-relief. We note the marked rise of both relief curves in the period of prosperity, and of the unbroken curve in 1897-1900. The rise of the unbroken curve in the period of prosperity is due to the fact that the Overseers of the Poor took advantage of the prevailing good feeling to "feather their nests." Thus, the rise of the unbroken curve after 1883 is due largely to the increasing ex-

pense of feeding and lodging tramps. During the few weeks preceding the hop harvest, crowds of tramps arrive in Blanktown and live upon public and private charity. During our period, up to 1896, it was the policy of the town to relieve all vagrant applicants with supper, a night's lodging, and breakfast. Tramps were fed and lodged at the house of the Overseer of the Poor, the latter receiving for each meal, thirty cents (up to 1884, twenty-five cents), and for each night's lodging, fifty cents. The expense of relieving tramps greatly increased after 1883 on account of the increase in their number with the growth of the hop industry and, also, the greater cost of relieving them. Not until 1896 did the town take measures for retrenchment. In that year the following resolution was passed by the town auditors: "Whereas, it appears that this town has been imposed upon by neighboring towns encouraging tramps to look to this town for aid, resolved that we shall not audit bills granting relief to non-residents, unless so authorized by the statutes." This retrenchment was only temporary, however, as evidenced by the rise of the unbroken curve in 1897-1900.

In the same way that the Overseers took advantage of the general good-feeling to increase their profits from the relief of tramps, so the "poor doctor" flagitiously increased his income from the care of the sick poor. Large as have been the expenditures for treating the sick poor, they never have equaled the amount claimed. In 1885 the "poor doctor," that is, the physician who has done most of the "doctoring" of the poor during our period, presented a bill of $400, of which, however, the auditing board allowed only $100. At this time, a resolution was passed "that no more than $200 a year should be expended" for medical attendance for the poor. The rise of the dash curve in 1888 and thereafter is due partly to occasional exceptions to this rule, but largely to a decrease in the population resulting in a per capita increase of expenditure.

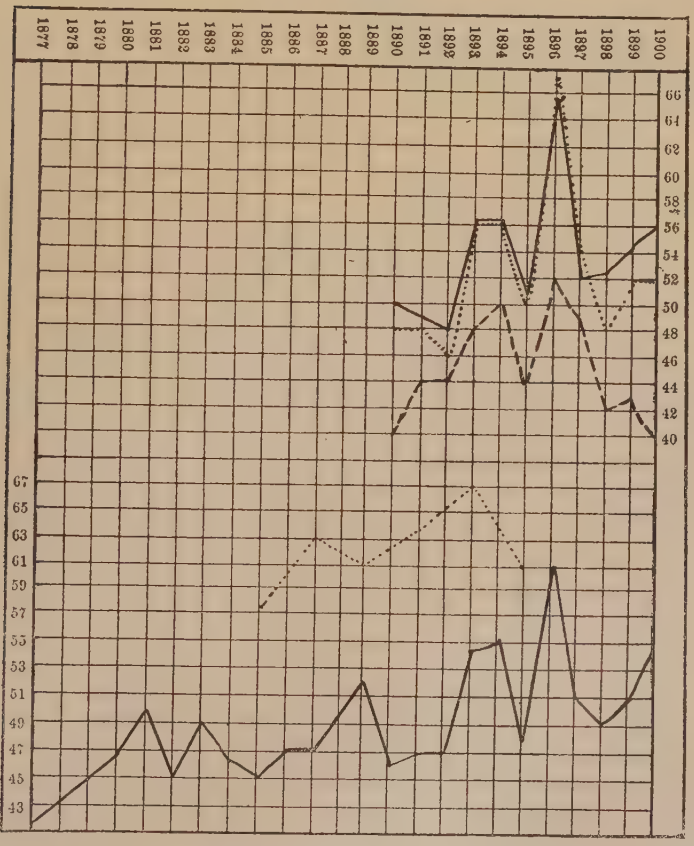
Thus, prosperity tended to make the population not only

more careless in their own expenditures (Chapters VII and XII) but also more indifferent as to the disbursement of public money. This indifference has varied as between village and country, the former tending to be less indifferent. It also has varied according to the remoteness of the public activity—still greater than the indifference to town administration has been that toward state and national affairs. The ins and outs of the expenditure of state monies not being understood, the attitude to state politics has not been critical, but rather one of partisanship. Allegiance has been divided between the Republican and Democratic parties, the votes cast for other candidates never having constituted more than three per cent of the total vote. Variations in the relative strength of the two parties, in Blanktown, have shown no relation to changes in local prosperity, but are a result of those more widespread conditions to which are due the changes in the general political temper of the state. Chief of these conditions is the decrease in the proportion of conservative rural voters as compared with the more progressive village voters. To this cause is due the gradual increase in Blanktown of the Republican over the Democratic vote. This increase is evident in Chart XIV in which the unbroken curve of the lower series, based on the figures at the left, represents the Republican percentage of the total vote cast for the Republican and Democratic candidates.[1] The greater conservatism of the rural

[1] These figures were taken from the annual reports of the Board of Supervisors and represent the vote for the following officials: Secretary of ——— State for the years 1877, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1887, 1889, 1891, 1893, 1895, 1898 and 1900; Representative in Congress for 1878 and 1884; Justice of the Court of Sessions for 1879, 1880, 1888, 1892, 1896; Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals for 1882, 1886, 1890, 1894; Member of Assembly for 1897, 1899. As far as possible, those candidates were selected who would appeal to the voter merely as representatives of his party and not for personal reasons. Hence all candidates whose homes were in Blanktown or who were otherwise personally known to the voters were eliminated, also all candidates for the office of Governor or President, around whom issues might centre which would cause a splitting of tickets. Thus the curve is an index of pure party allegiance. There is, however, little or no difference between the vote for colorless candidates and for candidates for important offices, as Governor or President, showing that the issues involved have had no influence in disturbing party spirit.

voters is evident from the upper series of curves of which the unbroken curve represents the Republican percentage of the total vote of voting district number one, the majority of the

CHART XIV.



voters of which reside in the village; the dotted curve represents the Republican percentage of the vote of district number three, the majority of the voters of which also reside in Blankville; while the dash curve indicates the Republican percentage of district number two, all of the voters of which live

in the rural districts. These three curves are based on the figures at the right. The dash curve moves below the others at all points, thus indicating the greater strength of the Democratic party among the rural voters. The fluctuations of this curve are less extreme than are those of the other curves, showing the greater tendency of the conservative temper to remain uninfluenced by changing conditions. Both the village and the rural votes show a response to the general political temper of the state and nation, as evident, especially, in the Democratic majority of 1892 and the Republican majority of 1896.

The lack of a critical attitude in state and national politics is evident in the way political campaigns are conducted in Blanktown. The campaign consists of political meetings addressed by partisan candidates and preceded by a torch-light procession. Each party is more interested in out-doing the other in noise and display than in instructing their own members or conveying to others an intelligent idea of the principles for which they stand. Aside from the partisan speeches by imported orators or "home talent" on the night of the "demonstration," there is no public discussion of the issues of the campaign, either in the form of debates or newspaper articles or addresses from the pulpit, the clergy maintaining such discussions to be "secular" and "outside the sphere of the church."

One other motive, in addition to party allegiance and to the influence of the outside, general trend of opinion, is evident in Blanktown political activity, namely, personal allegiance. This was most strongly manifested when, in 1885-95, the Republican candidate for state senator was a resident of Blanktown. The dotted curve of the lower series of Chart XIV represents the percentage of the total vote for state senator polled by this candidate. The divergence of this curve from the unbroken curve of the lower series represents the influence of personal allegiance, or, in the words of the Blankville *Times,* the "complimentary vote" accorded the town's candi-

date for senator. The chief interest of the campaign has centered about the chances of the town's candidate, and the celebration of his election has far exceeded in enthusiasm any other, even a presidential victory. The celebration of the state senator's victory in 1895 eclipsed all others. In this year the Republican state organization had prevented the renomination of the senator from Blanktown. Thereupon, he announced himself an independent candidate and was elected over the regular Republican and Democratic nominees. Hence, the figure for 1895, in Chart XIV, is the percentage of the total vote for the three nominees polled by the independent candidate. This signal victory occasioned a most remarkable celebration, of which the *Times* says: "There were two enthusiastic —— demonstrations here this week, one on Monday night when the opera house was crowded to the doors to hear the senator speak, and the other on Wednesday night to celebrate his victory. On Wednesday evening the victory was celebrated by his adherents in Blankville and surrounding towns. A special train of five cars coming here from ——. Bands and uniformed organizations marched to the home of the successful candidate, and, after much speech-making, accompanied him to the banquet hall amid a blaze of fireworks and cries of, 'Hurrah for the next governor of ——!' "

Personal allegiance, though outwardly more impulsive than partisanship, is not more uncritical. Both are emotional and, to the extent that they prevail, inhibit an intelligent discharge of civic duties. However, as has been shown (Part I, Chapter VI), the population is becoming more shrewd in political as in other activity and is holding more in abeyance, impulsive admiration of personality and impulsive loyalty to emblem and shibboleth.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE: MORALITY AND EQUITY.

Juristic activity in the first period was fundamentally an economic phenomenon. Competition in the exploitation of natural resources took the form of litigation. There was a decrease of litigation in the second period, due chiefly to the decreasing importance of persistence as compared with shrewdness (Part I, Chapters IV and VI, Part II, Chapter X). In the first period a large number of civil cases did not indicate, necessarily, a low morality. It might indicate a high morality, for courage in resisting ruthless domination was an highly esteemed virtue. Hence, statistics of civil cases are not significant for our study of morality. Nor can we compare the morality of the two periods by citing statistics of criminal cases, for much of the more recent immorality is merely immoderate self-indulgence which the law can not reach. Therefore, even if we had statistics of the juristic activity of the two periods, which we have not, they would convey no very definite information as to morality. Of the changes in the moral tone of the community, only a brief sketch can be given here, the analysis of the motives involved being reserved for the second volume.

The great fact in the morality of the early period is the rigid respect for law and the social abhorrence of the lawbreaker. A petty theft was the chief topic of conversation for months after it occurred, and a thief never shook off the stigma attached to his name. A thief brought back to the scene of his crime for trial was viewed aghast from doors and windows, and his crime discussed in awful whispers. The family of a thief often were so grief-stricken that, even if not shunned by their neighbors, as they usually were, they voluntarily withdrew from social intercourse, and when they chanced to meet their neighbors, "didn't dare look them in the face."

Social abhorrence did not distinguish between great and small crimes, nor between crimes and mere violations of social custom, the Sabbath-breaker and the thief being alike abhorred. The reason for this respect for law as such, and for social custom equally with law, was the fact that law registered custom. Likewise, there was little discrimination between more and less important customs. The woman who did her washing on Tuesday instead of Monday and the drunkard were condemned indiscriminately as offenders against custom. The citizen must square his conduct with all customs alike—must perfectly exemplify in his character the traits of persistence, generosity, honesty, frugality, courageous resistance to encroachments on property rights, peaceableness, sexual morality, law and Sabbath observance. Custom-observance was equally important with law-observance. Law-breaking was abhorred as custom-breaking.

The principle at the basis of all customs was self-denial. In the economy of exploitation (Part I, Chapter IV), persistence was the chief virtue and self-indulgence, or that which inhibited persistence, the chief vice. Frugality or self-denial in its economic phase was the custom of limiting that part of the profit taken in the form of goods to the customary consumers and capital goods, the surplus being reserved as the prospective patrimony. After 1845, the form of self-denial most strenuously insisted on was total abstinence. Up to that time, liquor-drinking in moderation was customary. Owing to monotonous conditions of life, however, particularly in winter, and the resulting craving for excessive physical stimulation, drunkenness and its accompanying violence early increased so alarmingly that the community pronounced for total abstinence and the church added its religious sanction. Drunkenness always had been one of the most abhorred forms of self-indulgence. More than one man has said, and sincerely: "I would rather see my boy dead than lying drunk beside the road." This shows how strong is the abhorrence of that excessive indulgence which "makes a man forget his man-

hood," that is, destroys the power of persistence to the extreme point of prostration. Power of self-denial, so highly prized in the early days, was simply one phase of the power of persistence, that is, persistence considered from the point of view of its negative effect in inhibiting self-indulgence. The intensity of the abhorrence of the saloon-keeper, of the intemperate man, of the moderate drinker, and, in fact, of any person who stopped short of total abstinence has been one of the most frequent causes of conflict. The most notable organized movement for enforcement of law in Blanktown was the Law and Order League, formed by prominent men of Blankville in 1895 to enforce the law for the Sunday closing of saloons.

In the second period, we note a growing disrespect for law. This is due to the fact that customs have entirely changed. The principle underlying all customs, in the first period, was the denial of self-indulgence. This has changed to the denial of the denial of self-indulgence; that is, the class which has defied the advocates of self-denial has increased until self-indulgence has become the prevailing custom. The result is that law tends, more and more, to register not custom, but what is contrary to custom. This greater emphasis on the rightfulness of customary as opposed to self-indulgent conduct, in the early days, explains, in part, the greater respect in which old people were then held. This greater respect may have been in part, a greater thoughtfulness and sympathy with weakness; but it was largely an instinctive submission to those who most perfectly exemplified in their characters the traditional life of the community. A hale old age was one more proof of the value of a custom-abiding life, as against the excesses and failures of impetuous youth. This respect for old age sometimes gave rise to a veritable tyranny, as is evident in those instances where a whimsical old woman often exacts from her neighbors a ready obedience to her whims, which, to an observer not under her spell, is ridiculous. These instances of submission to tradition, as exemplified in the

aged are, however, survivals. The general tendency, during the second period, has been to regard the aged as "old fogies" who "ought to know better." Respect and admiration for a "well-preserved" old man or woman has changed to pity for their failing zest in the enjoyment of life.

As self-indulgence, moderate or excessive, has become more general, abhorrence of the law-breaker and a disposition to mete out the full penalty for infractions of law has become weaker before a growing tendency to excuse the offender and to mitigate the penalty. This tendency is evident in the greater prevalence of sexual immorality and in the growing tendency to excuse offenders and to retain them "in society," when, in the first period, they would have been harshly condemned and ostracized.[1] Even where such offenses have been punishable by law. as in cases of bigamy, public sentiment has excused the offender on the ground that "a man can't live with a wife he doesn't love."

Dishonesty is another increasing form of immorality. As will be shown in the second volume, the basis of social relations has changed from respect accorded the man living up to the customary standard of the community to deference paid the wealthy man. As customary conduct, including honesty, has become less important and mere possession of wealth more important in determining social standing, the social valuation of shrewdness by which wealth is most quickly accumulated has greatly increased. Deference is accorded shrewdness as well as wealth. The maxim "honesty is the best policy," has changed, really but not avowedly, to "shrewd honesty is the best policy." The most widespread form of dishonesty in Blanktown has been the attempt to escape paying debts, either by untruthfully declaring inability to pay, or, when legal action has been taken, by putting one's property in another's name, or by taking

[1] Owing to this social ostracism, immoral persons, in the first period, were segregated in the neighborhood of C—— Road, the population of which early became notorious for its excesses and was regarded by Blanktown as a blot upon the map of the town. Later, however, immorality "in high places" increased and was no longer geographically segregated.

refuge behind the statute declaring debts outlawed after a certain period, or, finally, by going into voluntary bankruptcy. Significant of the growing laxity is the fact that such dishonest individuals are not condemned as harshly as in the early days, but condoned on their hard luck and retained in "society." Flagitiously withholding their wealth, they still receive that deference accorded the monied and leisure class.

Thus, in the second period, we have two opposing attitudes toward law, the old-time respect for law and abhorrence of the law-breaker, and a growing disrespect for law and palliation of the law-breaker. Both attitudes may be seen in the same individual, the former being a more fundamental and instinctive submission to law in general, the latter assuming the form of a growing impatience under the restraint of particular statutes or customs. Thus, a case of bigamy, in Blanktown, aroused the populace to such a pitch of excitement that over two hundred persons were at the railroad station to meet the train on which the bigamist was brought in for trial, and some of those loudest in their condemnation were persons who were habitually indulging in immoral conduct and impatient of the condemnatory sentiment of the community. Another example of such dual motives is furnished by those individuals who, though loud in their denunciations of a thief, are systematic swindlers of the village store-keepers.

It is the rural districts where, in the second period, the old social abhorrence remains strongest. Here, too, the spirit of condoning and excusing the law-breaker is less common than in the village. The countryman would exact of the criminal the full penalty of the law, while the villager is more open to the suggestion of the horror of "the narrow cell" and more readily moved to petition, for the criminal, a pardon or a light sentence.

The change in the attitude to law and the law-breaker is, in turn, the result of a change in social motives. The motive of observing the law, in the early days, was the fear of the abhorrence of the community. This fear of social abhorrence

is evident from the fear in which a "gossip" is held in a rural community. Nothing alarms a family more than to have a woman notorious for her "vile tongue" move into their neighborhood, for they well know the delight which a gossip takes in directing against individuals the abhorrence of the community by starting slanderous rumors.[1] The motive of fear is seen, also, in the avowal of the parent already referred to: "I'd rather see my boy dead than lying drunk beside the road." Lying drunk beside the road is a most dramatic violation of custom, in that it openly subjects the boy and all his kinsmen to the ridicule and abhorrence of those passing. To escape this abhorrence, more than one mother has kept liquor in the house so that her incorrigible son might indulge less openly. The violation of the custom of total abstinence itself caused less pain than the social abhorrence it aroused.

In the second period, the deterrent influence of fear of social abhorrence has decreased, while that of fear of the penalty has increased in relative importance. In some cases, infraction of law varies directly with the chance of "getting ketched." Thus only a small minority of the farmers of Blanktown have been found guilty of watering their milk, while a majority of them have been observed to sell calves under the legal age limit, the risk of detection and punishment for this offense being less than for watering milk.

The causes of the decrease of social abhorrence are bound up in the economic changes already described. We have seen that the change from a neighborhood to a world economy resulted in an era of recklessness due to a lack of definite knowledge like that which characterized the activity of the neighborhood economy. This recklessness shows itself in morality as well as in economic activity. Thus, when in the early days a group of farmers cooperated in butter-making, one farmer collecting the milk and making the butter one week and another the

[1] Abhorrence is not equally bitter for infraction of all customs. Since gossip most busily spreads rumors which will arouse the intensest abhorrence, a study of gossip will go to show the relative strength of different customs.

next, each clearly understood that it was to the advantage of each not to water his milk. But to-day, the farmer who sells his milk for consumption in New York can not understand that he will not gain by watering his milk if he can do it without detection. The farmer will not sell "bob-veal" for the consumption of his neighbors, because he knows they will surely retaliate; but he will do it for the consumption of distant populations where retaliation is not probable. In the early days, when the farmer sat down to a roast veal of his own raising or carried a loin to his neighbors with the words, "See if that isn't the nicest veal you ever ate," he enjoyed directly the fruits of his own efficiency, either in his own appetitive satisfaction or in the approval of his neighbor. The farmer of to-day can not realize that his interests are as intimately bound up with those of remote populations as they once were with the neighborhood. He can not understand that his dependence on the products of the labor of others, the quality of which will excel in proportion as others derive satisfaction from their own efficiency rather than from its material reward, involves an obligation to a corresponding efficiency on his own part. Not understanding this obligation, he can not understand the function of law in enforcing it. To him, every individual is "looking out for himself first and last and all the time." Law is an arbitrary limitation of this selfishness which the individual will evade when the chances of evading the penalty are such as to make evasion profitable.

There have been sporadic social movements based on a notion of law as a general plan of action which, by curtailing the extreme self-indulgence of individuals, will make possible a moderate self-indulgence for all. Thus, in 1893, the Blanktown Fish and Game Protective Association was formed to enforce the game laws, the assumption being that by imposing certain restrictions on hunting and fishing, opportunities for these sports would be preserved for all. However, this association accomplished nothing and some of its members soon became habitual and open violators of the game laws. Thus,

what is lacking is not a correct notion of law, but a consciousness of a general identity of personal interest strong enough to insure a conscientious observance of law. As we shall see in the following chapter, this also is the reason for the failure of attempts at cooperation in economic activity.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE: THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

The most important fact in the economic development of rural Blanktown is the change from an "independent" to a competitive régime. In the first period, the farmer produced nearly all those forms of wealth needed for his own consumption; in the second, chiefly that form of wealth which could be most profitably exchanged for necessaries, comforts and luxuries. The most important fact in the economic development of the village of Blankville is its change from a distributing to an industrial and finally to a commercial centre. At first, merely a place where farmers obtained those few consumer's goods which their neighborhood farms, mills, shops and factories could not produce, it became an industrial centre when the neighborhood mills, shops and factories migrated to Blankville. This migration took place when, with the improvement of highways and vehicles, the farmer became more and more disposed to patronize the village industries, where proximity to raw materials and keener competition made industrial products cheaper. The industries thus congregated in Blankville produced for a wider market, the town instead of the neighborhood. As facilities of communication and travel multiplied, the small industries gradually disappeared and Blankville became a commercial village. The characteristic fact in its commercialism was not, however, its increase in importance as a distributing centre. To be sure, its importance as such did increase rapidly as the rural population, now making money instead of goods for home consumption, became more and more dependent on the village for consumer's goods. The essential feature in the business activity of Blankville was, however, its importance as the commercial

centre of the hop industry. To the buying and selling of hops other phases of business activity have been subordinate, a "brisk" or "slack" trade in consumer's goods generally depending on the rise and fall in the prosperity of the hop industry. Our general conclusion is that the important facts in the economic development of Blanktown, both city and country, centre around the hop industry.

The aim of the present chapter is to show the significance of the change from an economy of independence to the dependence involved in the more or less exclusive cultivation of hops. The significance of this change from independence to world-wide competition has not yet dawned on the farmers of Blanktown. The favorite dictum still is: "The world is dependent on the farmer, for our living comes out of the land," this maxim implying, also, that the farmer is dependent on himself, alone, and hence independent of the world. "But," he adds, "we have to take what they please to give us for our products," showing a glimmering conception of relations of dependence wider than neighborhood cooperation. In Part I, Chapter IV, it was shown that the chief characteristic of the economy of independence, from the point of view of individual effort, was the non-competitive exploitation of natural resources, while that of the economy of world-wide competition was the competitive intensive cultivation of the soil. From the point of view of cooperative effort, the essential feature of the first period was the simple you-help-me-and-I'll-help-you cooperative scheme as against the complicated and legally enforcible contract relations of the second period. Inasmuch as, in the first period, individual was more important than cooperative effort, the economy of that period is more properly designated with reference to the character of its individual activity and the effect of that activity on character than with reference to its cooperative activity. Hence we term it the economy of independence, thus designating its essential characteristic as well as its effect in producing a feeling of personal independence throughout the population. It was both an econ-

omy of individual independence and one of neighborhood cooperation, and may be designated by either of the two terms, provided we recognize the former as more fundamental. Similarly, the economy of the second period is one of dependence signifying the effect of the wider and more intense competition in arousing in the farmer a sense of his own powerlessness when buying and selling in markets, the laws and technical working of which he can not comprehend. This economy, also, may be designated, from the point of view of its cooperative aspect, either world-wide as opposed to the narrower geographical limits of the neighborhood economy, or an economy of written and legally enforcible contract as against the verbal nature of the relations of the early days.[1]

Turning, now, to the most general aspect, both of individual and of cooperative effort, we find that, in the first period, all activity was under the controlling power of custom, while, in the second, activity was uncustomary—either reckless or shrewd. In the early days, economic worth was measured by persistence, not persistence shrewdly exercised, but persistence along customary lines and with the use of customary implements and methods. The question was not how much a man accomplished, but how long and how hard he worked. The farmer who failed to have his chores done and to be in the field by six in the morning, the housewife who failed to have her washing out before breakfast, were severely condemned, even if, though arising later than their neighbors, they accomplished more than the latter by "using their wits" as well as their hands. Likewise, the question was not how much a man produced and enjoyed, but how much he saved. The farmer who dared to buy a new carriage or a new piece of furniture was denounced as "getting high-toned" or "living beyond his

[1] That obligations were matters of personal relation rather than of impersonal written contract, is evident from the prevailing notion that the creditor's death cancels the debt. It is universally true that, without bringing legal pressure to bear, "it is easier to get blood out of a stone than to collect from a dead man's debtors."

means." One who was enterprising enough to invest now and then in a new piece of labor-saving machinery was characterized as "a reckless fellow, filling his barns with old iron." The approved type of character was the man who was persistent and frugal in the customary ways. Not only in individual, but also in cooperative activity, custom ruled supreme. Owing to the simplicity of productive activity, cooperation was informal, contracts verbally made and very simple. "You help me and I'll help you in return," epitomizes the essential element in the industrial organization of the early days. Cooperation was, simply, temporary joint-persistence.

Having, now, clearly in mind the customary nature of the economy of independence, we are prepared to understand the effect of the change to the dependence of a world-wide economy. The part played therein by Blanktown can not be apprehended, however, unless we understand the essential features of its great industry, hop raising. The most important fact about the hop industry has been the enormous fluctuations in the selling price of hops from month to month, from week to week, and even from day to day. The day to day fluctuations often have been as high as ten per cent. In Table XXI, columns 1-14, are given the bi-weekly prices paid for hops, in the years specified, by one of the brokers of Blankville.[1] The figures represent the number of cents paid for one pound of hops. Column 15 gives the smallest, column 16 the largest and column

[1] The fluctuations of the table are due to a number of causes, the discussion of which does not fall within the purpose of this book. Suffice it to say that each broker has his own standard of quality, and this is very indefinite, the price he is willing to pay for a particular product depending not only on the intrinsic quality of the product, but also on whether or not he happens to need that particular lot to fill out a shipment of similar quality. There is, therefore, no uniform method of grading. Hops are all of the same quality until they have been pronounced upon by the broker. The farmer has no standard by which to judge beforehand the quality of his product. His hops appear to him as good as those of his neighbor, the price he is offered depending on the "chance of the market" or the whim of the broker. Prices quoted in the above table are, therefore, for hops of the same quality, there being no generally recognized grades of quality. Owing to this lack of a hop market with definite and generally recognized grades, both farmers and brokers have been more or less blind and hence reckless speculators.

17 the average[1] bi-weekly variation.[2] The years are named according to the size of their average variation, the year 1882 having the largest and 1895 the smallest average variation. The average variations of the years 1880, 1881 and 1886 fall between those of the years 1879 and 1875; that of 1876 between 1875 and 1899; those of 1878, 1888 and 1894 between 1899 and 1892; those of 1884, 1887, 1897 and 1898 between 1892 and 1893; that of 1900 between 1893 and 1895: Thus there is evident a tendency to decreasing fluctuations toward the end of the period, though this tendency is by no means without exceptions or uniform from year to year. Years of high prices tend to be years of greater, years of low prices to be years of lesser fluctuations. Comparing Table XXI with Chart I, we gain an idea of the perpetual and often enormous fluctuations in the selling price of hops throughout our period.

Thus, hop raising, before 1875 the all-absorbing industry of the town, not only introduced the Blanktownsman to a world economy, but also shifted the relative importance of his productive activity from the tillage of the soil and the raising of the crop to the speculative selling of the crop in an extremely

[1] The average variation is important as showing the strength of the tendency to vary throughout the year, as opposed to a single and often isolated variation. There may be a large single variation without a large average variation. Thus the average variation for the years 1875 and 1889 happens to be 2.53 cents. But the largest single variation for these years differs greatly, being for 1875 28 cents and for 1889 16 cents. Thus the largest variation would not serve as an index number of variation during any one year, for one or two large variations are often followed by many weeks in which there is little variation. Nor will the average variation alone serve our purpose, for the effect on the social population of a series of similar variations is vastly different from that of a series of dissimilar variations, some great and others scarcely perceptible, though both series might yield the same average. Thus we must consider both the average variation and the maximum and minimum single variations.

[2] In columns 15-17, the absolute instead of the per cent of variation has been used because the former better expresses the importance of the variation. Thus in 1895 the largest bi-weekly variation expressed as a percentage is 21 as compared with 77 in 1882; but the fall in price of one and one-half cents a pound in 1895 as compared with seventy-seven cents a pound in 1882 is vastly more important than is expressed by the ratio of 21 per cent to 77 per cent.

uncertain market. Economic interest no longer centered in physical labor, but in the speculative disposition of the products of labor. "What are hops bringing to-day?" is the most com-

TABLE XXI.

Year.	Sept. 1.	Sept. 15.	Oct. 1.	Oct. 15.	Nov. 1.	Nov. 15.	Dec. 1.	Dec. 15.	Jan. 1.	Jan. 15.	Feb. 1.	Feb. 15.	Mar. 1.	Mar. 15.	Smallest Bi-weekly Variation.	Largest Bi-weekly Variation.	Average Bi-weekly Variation.
1882..	55	58	60	66	90	100	110	100	23	20	18	20	21	20	1	77	11.61
1883..	26	21	20	21	25	24	17	17	90	90	90	90	88	88	0	73	7.23
1877..	8	11	10	7½	6	10	6	6	17	25	10	14	10	10	0	15	7.00
1890..	45	42	40	40	40	40	35	35	11	14	15	15½	18	18	0	24	3.15
1879..	25	25	30	30	40	40	40	40	10	9	9	7½	5	5	0	30	3.07
1875..	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	40	40	40	40	35	35	0	28	2.53
1885..	10	6	8	10	10	10	8	6	16	16	17	17	18	10	0	10	2.46
1889..	14	11	10	11	8	8	13	10	20	16	18	19	19	19	0	10	2.53
1891..	15	14	12	12	14	16	17	18	34	33	32	30	30	25	0	16	2.61
1899..	14	14	12	11	10	10	10	10	17	13	18	15	15	12	0	7	2.00
1896..	10	7	7	8½	9	10	11	12½	5½	4½	4½	6	6½	5	0	6½	1.53
1892..	20	21	21	21	22	23	23	21	18	15	22	21	22	22	0	7	1.46
1893..	20	20	21	20	20	16½	16	18	20	20	22	22	22	20	0	3.5	1.07
1895..	7	7	7	7	6½	6	6	5½	7	7	7	5½	5	4½	0	1.5	.57

mon salutation on the Blanktown highways; and, on the village street, one of the most common groups is a circle of farmers discussing the hop market. The chief result of this change was the differentiation of the farming population into two classes, a "reckless" class and a "conservative" class. The latter is the one which adhered to the old customs of persistence and frugality. The reckless class, including the more reckless and the less reckless or ordinarily shrewd farmers, were more interested in speculation[1] than in persistent physical labor. Reckless farmers often have been descendants of men who were proverbially fond of horse-trading. Horse-trading, in the early days, seems to have been a sort of relaxation from the serious work of life. It was an affair of reckless adventure as much as of shrewd calculation, its fascination being due to the fact that "a horse is deceitful above all things." Horse-trading was more prevalent in some districts than in

[1] The love of speculation in its incipient form is seen in the universal custom of guessing at things and wagering over disputed points. Thus the company guess at the time of day before the farmer takes out his watch; they wager over the weight of a calf before it is placed on the scales.

others, according to the comparative strength in the population, of the traits of persistence and recklessness. Thus, "the horse-traders of T——town" (now M—— road) have been proverbial since the early days; and, later, when hop speculation was at its height, the "T—— tribe" were pre-eminent as reckless speculators.

With the growing importance of the hop industry, the reckless and conservative farmers became more and more clearly differentiated. Their reaction to the new conditions of the world economy developed distinctive methods of economic activity. These distinctive methods are evident, in the first place, in the different ways of determining the acreage of various crops. The conservative farmer clings to the old ideal of independence. "What I raise I shan't have to pay for. If I raise all I need, there's no money going out and I am making a living beholden to no man." This is the customary argument advanced against the proposition that, by increasing his hop acreage at certain seasons and buying a part of his grain, the farmer may increase his productive power. The conservative farmer does not desire, however, to make money, but simply to "make a living." The reckless farmer, however, upon the advent of prosperity, turned all his available land to the cultivation of hops and bought his grain, preferring the chance of a large profit or heavy loss to the certainty of a small profit. Certain farmers not only put all their land under hops, but also purchased more land at a wildly extravagant price and went deeply into debt therefor. More shrewd farmers avoided such extreme recklessness, but took bigger chances than the conservative farmer.

When depression succeeded prosperity in 1895-96, the reckless farmer grew desperate, declared there was no more money in hops, and, either greatly reduced his acreage or went out of the business entirely. The depression, was, however, not severe as compared with similar periods in other agricultural industries. In only four of the nineteen years of 1875-94 were the profits from an acre of hops less than the average

profit from an acre of wheat during that period, and the average yearly profit from an acre of hops was very much greater than that from an acre of wheat. The fact is, the farmers of Blanktown had become so used to large profits, every year, that two successive years of slight loss seemed to them a tremendous loss, while the wheat farmer of the West, with his moderate expectation of profit, is not reduced to despair by a year or two of no-profit prices. The reckless farmer saw his mistake in abandoning hop raising for dairy or truck-farming, when, after the fair profits of the years 1898-1900, hops brought a profit of one to two hundred per cent in 1902-04. The conservative farmer did not decrease his acreage during the time of depression, but "stuck her through" along the customary lines, so that, when high prices unexpectedly recurred, he had his customary crop ready for market. Thereupon, he congratulated himself on his "good luck," as compared with his neighbor who had "plowed up" his hops and must wait a year and a half before his new acreage would bear fruit.

The phase of productive activity in which the conservative is most clearly distinguished from the reckless farmer is in the selling of the hop crop. The former is known to the broker as the hog-headed farmer. Pitted against the broker, both types have displayed a fatal lack of shrewdness. The characteristic attitude of the hog-headed farmer to the broker is one of suspicion and contempt, contempt for him as a man displaying little or no power of persistence in his productive activity, suspicion of him as possessing some obscure money-making power. For several months preceding, during and after the hop harvest, the agricultural district is canvassed by hop brokers, and the farmer has frequent "offers" for his crop. The hog-headed farmer responds to offers in some such way as this: "No sir, you don't get my hops for no such price; I'll take —— or nothing!" usually naming a trifle more a pound than he has been offered. Brokers often have visited a farmer several times and offered what the latter had said he

would take on the previous occasion, only to be met with the rebuff: "No, you don't get my hops for that price." Finally, the broker has ceased to strive with him, and, when the price has begun to fall, the farmer, only after being urged by his family and friends, has "let his crop go." This experience has been repeated, very likely, year after year, until the farmer has won the title of a "chronic holder." A chronic holder "always sells on a falling market." In the chronic holder, it is the domineering and not the reckless spirit which is uppermost. He is, usually, a man who "goes at things hammer and tongs," and he trys to "bring the broker to time" as he would cudgel a balky horse. More than one farmer, after having held his crop, in this spirit, until the price has fallen "away down," has been known to "bed his horses" with his hops rather than "knuckle down" to the broker; that is, he has "cut off his nose to spite his face."

The reckless farmer is the one who, when it comes to selling his hops, is "always going to do something great." Unlike the straightforward attack of the chronic holder, his attempt to "get the best" of the broker is roundabout. Despising the consistent holding policy of the conservative farmer, he "switches around," holding, one year, and selling the next, as fancy takes him or according to whether he "hit it" or "missed it" by holding or selling, the previous year. To the conservative farmer, the raising of the crop is more interesting; to the reckless farmer, the grasping of the "top price" in selling it. The selling of the crop is, through and through, an affair of reckless adventure, as reckless as horse-trading and involving stakes enormously greater. In 1882, when hops rose to one dollar a pound, even the chronic holder became excited and wavered in his habitual disposition to hold his crop, while the reckless farmer "went clean crazy" and bought hops at one dollar a pound, so that, as between the one, refusing to sell at one dollar, which meant a profit of over seven hundred per cent, and the other, buying at one dollar, it is difficult to

say which was the "biggest fool." Not only farmers and brokers, but also storekeepers, lawyers, physicians, bought hops at wildly extravagant prices and, to many of these, the crash brought great loss or complete ruin. Speculation was not confined to hops. In 1883, a "bucket shop" was started in Blankville, and the gambling craze swept over village and country. Within a few months, probably twenty-five men had lost from $100 to $3,000 in stock-gambling. What was not lost in gambling was spent in the billiard parlors and the saloon on the floors below the bucket-shop. After the place closed, several Blanktown speculators continued their operations in the stock market of the city of X——. This was, to be sure, an era of extreme recklessness, but it tended to repeat itself less extravagantly with every rise in the price of hops, confining itself, thereafter, however, exclusively to hops.

One of the strongest indications of a lack of shrewdness in determining the hop acreage and in disposing of the crop is that very few farmers of Blanktown have made any pretense, during our period, to keeping accounts or to basing their operations upon statistical calculations. They have kept no accounts which might show what has been their yearly acreage or how large a crop was harvested or what price was received each year. It was owing to a lack of such records that a deeper analysis was not attempted in Chapter I. Very few farmers have figured out the cost of producing a pound of hops, so that they are unable to say what are their net profits from the hop crop in any one year. Having no idea of the profitableness of their industry, they can not, of course, compare it with other industries. Hence their tendency, already noted, to undervalue the profitableness of hop raising, as compared with other industries, and to be carried to extreme lengths by unfounded hope and fear.[1]

Of cooperative as well as individual reaction to the new

[1] Inefficiency in all agricultural industries is characteristic of Blanktown, as compared with neighboring towns, owing to the fact that hop raising, with its reckless methods, has so long overshadowed in importance other industries.

conditions of the world economy, recklessness has been the chief characteristic. The ruin of the reckless farmer often has been hastened by his reckless generosity. His ready "I'll-help-you," beneficent all around when prompting him to help his struggling neighbor in the woodlot, worked his ruin when it led to "signing notes" for financially involved neighbors. This hard experience gradually taught the lesson that, in the complicated world economy, you'll-help-me did not as inevitably follow I'll-help-you, as in the neighborhood economy. The conservative farmer signed notes less readily, for persistence rather than generosity was his dominant characteristic. The entire population of Blanktown, however, country and village, have suffered from the survival of generosity in their business relations with those whose only principle of business conduct is shrewdness. The Blanktownsman too readily presumes that the commercial world, like himself, regulates its business according to the simple cooperative scheme, "You help me and I'll help you," and too readily relies on a tacit understanding of a mutual agreement for the return of help generously extended. Often, however, one party to the contract was born and bred in the commercial world, where generosity plays no part in business activity, and hence is unconscious of the fact that his success in the deal with and at the expense of the other party was due to the latter's tacit assumption of a generous—honest relation between them. He knows nothing of you help me and I'll help you. He knows only written contract and long ago would have perished in the struggle had he known anything else. The farmer or village storekeeper, on the other hand, knows little of the methods of or of the fierce struggle out in the business world. When he loses in a deal and sees that his simple cooperative scheme is not recognized by the other party, he attributes the legitimate profit of the shrewd individual to dishonesty, that is, to that through which, alone, in the early days, it was possible for one man to profit at the expense of another, namely, failure to return, in kind, help extended. He does not realize that

the fault lies, partly, in himself, in his own obtuseness in not comprehending the significance of the new economy.

This mutual misunderstanding is evident in the tardy efforts of the citizens of Blankville to build up the manufacturing enterprises of the town. When the decadence of the hop industry threatened to greatly depopulate the town, an effort was made to induce outside entrepreneurs to start manufacturing enterprises in Blanktown. The plan followed was to give an entrepreneur a few thousand dollars, outright, raised by voluntary contributions, with the understanding that he would do business a certain number of years in the town. Two attempts of this sort have been made and both were failures. In both cases, the merchants of the village were the prime movers and the arrangement of the details was entrusted to the most capable of their number. Failure was due to lack of shrewdness in the selection of the enterprise and of the entrepreneur. In both attempts, the dominant motive was not intelligent, but impulsive. Contributions were made under stress of the general hue and cry for public spirit rather than from an intelligent approval of the project. "If other towns can have factories, I guess we can," is as near as the promoters came to an intelligent apprehension of the conditions of success of the enterprise. This lack of shrewdness explains why Blanktown is behind some neighboring towns in her manufacturing interests. The significant fact about these fruitless attempts is that, in both cases, the promoters paid over to the entrepreneur the amount stipulated, without exacting from him any written obligation to maintain his enterprise a certain number of years or refund a part of the subsidy, and this in spite of the fact that, when the first enterprise speedily failed, the citizens had resolved that, in the event of another attempt, they would not rely on tacit agreement. It is doubtful whether, in either case, such an agreement was understood by the entrepreneur. Upon the failure of the second enterprise, the entrepreneur was generally denounced as dishonest and incompetent and it was resolved never again to contribute to a manufacturing enterprise.

The mutual misunderstanding between those who use shrewdness, alone, in their business and those still under the influence of the old-time cooperative scheme is causing a widespread and growing distrust throughout the population. Those doing business along generosity—honesty lines distrust an employer who "doesn't speak to his help," that is, who lacks fellow-feeling, because fellow-feeling is, to them, an evidence of economic worth. Thus, fellow-feeling indicates a readiness to return help received, that is, honesty; also a power to render valuable aid, that is, efficiency. This distrust is assuming the form of a belief that, in the absence of legal restraint, a man will exploit his neighbor's as he once exploited natural wealth. "You help me and I'll help you," is regarded as having changed to "I'll help myself to as much of you as I am shrewder than you." Whenever two courses are open to a man, one to pay his debts and another to escape paying them by some legal subterfuge, it is assumed he will choose the latter: "You help me and I'll help you in return if I can't help it." This distrust is, as we shall see, largely responsible for the failure of attempts for industrial cooperation in Blanktown.

As a result of this discrediting of the old-time cooperative scheme, there has been a perceptible decrease in rigid and proud honesty throughout the population. In verbal agreements which he can understand, the farmer is still honest. He would scorn to put the largest potatoes on top of a measure and the smallest underneath. When it comes to matters which he only imperfectly understands, however, we find two classes among the agricultural population: The conservative farmer tends to be always honest, the reckless farmer not always. Both classes retain the instinct of honesty. With a blow they resent the appellation of liar. But, to catch a rogue, some of them, unconsciously, perhaps, have become rogues. The hop industry offers a great temptation to dishonesty. Owing to the lack of uniform grading of different qualities of hops each broker has his own grades of quality.

which, to the farmer, are merely whims. Hence, the latter who, in matters which he can clearly understand, scorns trickery does not scruple to trick the broker in order to circumvent his whims. Such deceit has been most prevalent in contracts for future delivery, where not only has there often been an attempt to deliver a poorer quality than was contracted, but also both parties habitually have repudiated the contract whenever it turned out to be for their interest, its verbal nature making impossible any legal enforcement.

Thus, while in simple cooperation with each other, the farmer remains true to his obligations of mutual helpfulness, in his business relations with shrewd individuals he often stoops to dishonesty. This tendency is seen not only in his relations with the hop broker, but also with the merchant class in general. The farmer regards the prices of merchandise as fixed not by laws of supply and demand, but, arbitrarily, by the merchant, with the purpose of exploiting the farmer (Part I, Chapter IV). Thus, one farmer said: "As soon as the farmer gets higher prices the merchants advance the price of their goods; so prosperity don't mean so much as you'd think." This notion of his being victimized by the merchant leads, in some cases, to an attempt at dishonest retaliation. More than one farmer has soothed his conscience, when a debt is overdue, with the reflection that "the merchant is making his living off the farmer anyhow," and will get all he deserves if he is paid a part of the debt, enough to cover the cost of the goods to him. The shrewdness which enables the merchant to make a living appears to the farmer to have no productive power. This widespread notion of the unproductiveness of shrewdness and of the arbitrary character of prices tends to encourage dishonesty.

As kinds and qualities of consumers' goods multiply, however, the economic value of the merchant, in discriminating between the adulterated and the pure food, between the stylish and the out-of-date garment, is being increasingly recognized and is introducing into commercial competition a new element,

namely, reliability, including both shrewdness and honesty. The storekeeper does not rely exclusively or mainly, however, on his reputation for reliability. As was shown in Part I, Chapter IV, the instinct underlying commercial is similar to that underlying agricultural competition, namely, the winning of patrons from rivals, in toto, rather than the arousing and satisfying of new wants in the patrons of rivals. The conception of commercial competition as a rivalry in the development and satisfaction of new wants rather than a struggle for the exclusive satisfaction of customary wants has not arisen in Blanktown. In the arousing and satisfying of new wants the success of one merchant does not necessarily involve the loss of another, for a demand for new goods may be created, thereby, which does not interfere with the demand for goods already on the market. Wants may be indefinitely multiplied by multiplying the stimulus. The Blanktown merchant, however, regards the patron as an integer to be won by "palaver," or by establishing his place of business on the "handiest" corner, or by tricking the public into believing that his goods are cheapest, rather than as a bundle of potential wants by displaying the means of the satisfaction of which the patron is to be gained. However, in his efforts to win custom, the storekeeper is gradually drifting into a method which appeals to the indefinitely increasing want capacity, namely, the method of suggestion. This is seen in the increasing importance of the show-window displays and the extravagant advertisements of "new goods."

The village merchants may be divided into two classes: the "enterprising" merchants who "keep up with the times" in their displays and advertisements, and the "conservative" merchants who keep only "what is called for" and rely on their favorable location, or the personal attachment of the population, or devices for arousing the desire to get something for nothing, or their reputation for reliability. The enterprising seems to be encroaching on the patronage of the conservative storekeeper. Occasionally, one finds a shrewd farmer who

"calculates we have to pay for them arc lights and them show windows"; but, as it is the farmer's wife who buys the dress goods and the millinery, his shrewdness is of little avail. The chief evidence of the change in the competitive method from the struggle to appropriate patrons, in toto, to rivalry in the stimulation of new wants is the increasing trading done by Blanktown people to the city of X——, twenty-two miles distant. The greater attractiveness of the city as compared with the village stores lies not in the superior cheapness of their goods, but in the greater glamor of their displays.

Commercial competition is, thus, coming to consist, more and more, of the arousing and satisfaction of new wants, success in which, on the part of one merchant, does not involve, necessarily, the loss of another. Those using the suggestive method, however, do not realize its significance. Their viewpoint is still that of the old-time merchant, namely, that a patron won by them means a patron lost to another. The essential difference between the exclusive satisfaction of customary and the arousing of new wants is obscured by the fact that the satisfaction of a new want often involves the curtailment and even the elimination of a customary want. Thus the appropriation of patronage will remain an important element in commercial competition. But the characteristic feature of the new competition is the tendency of new wants to multiply indefinitely under the influence of the suggestive method. "Your gain, another's loss" tends to become less, and "your gain, not another's loss," more true. Fundamentally, however, competition continues to be a conflict—a rivalry in the shrewd use of suggestion.

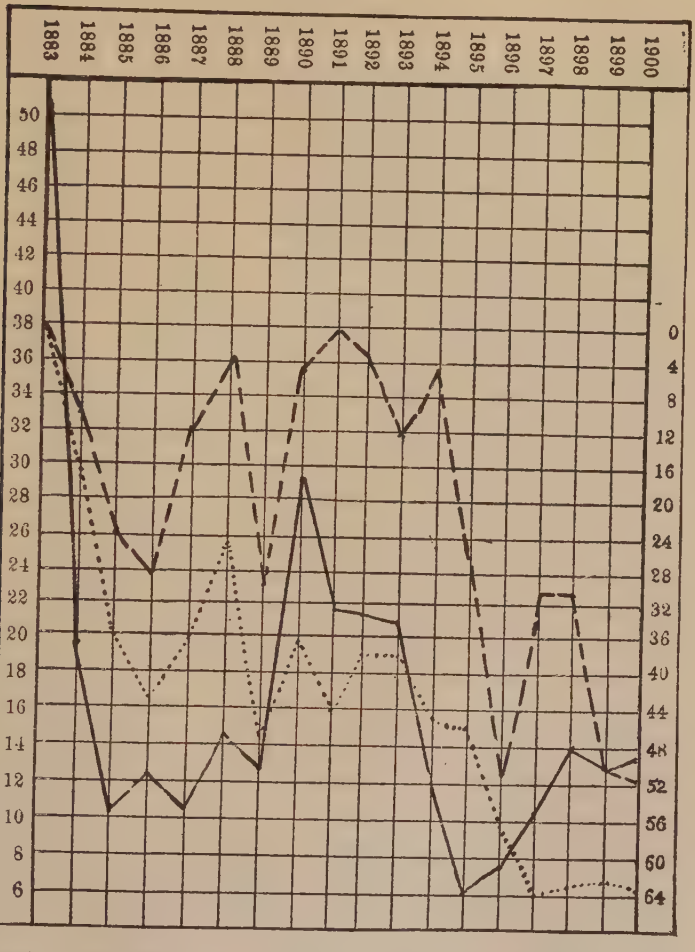
Increasing susceptibility to suggestive influence has caused a reckless departure from the custom of frugality throughout the Blanktown population. In the early days, when people were persistent rather than susceptible to suggestion, only necessaries of life were purchased or offered for sale. A pay-as-you-go policy was the result. To-day, new goods, arousing new wants, are displayed, and when a customer signi-

fies a wish to possess an article, the storekeeper readily gives possession on a verbal promise to pay. A reckless incurring of indebtedness and a widespread carelessness about paying debts is the result. This recklessness increases in periods of prosperity, owing, of course, to the general feeling that prosperity will continue. However, it is the effect of this feeling upon the merchants, prompting them to allow individuals to run larger bills in prosperous times, that is the primary cause of the greater credit business. Thus encouraged, people purchase on the strength of their expectation of future gains. Purchase of goods on credit spreads from those in whom its cause is the expectation of high prices for their hop crop to those whose prosperity is not affected by the hop industry, but who "get trusted" because "the rest do." Thus, servant girls deem it a part of the programme of a fine lady to "run a bill" at three or four different stores. In this way the entire population has abandoned the old-time frugality.

The effect of prosperity in the hop industry upon the growth of their credit business has long been observed by the merchants of Blanktown. This phenomenon might be statistically measured by ascertaining from some reliable merchant the ratio of the value of the goods sold on credit to the value of all the goods sold each year during our period. Not having such statistics, we must make the best of what we have. From one merchant, whose patronage extends throughout the town and whose business, not having been seriously disturbed by competition, reflects the prosperity of the town, two items have been secured which, used together, will serve our purpose. One is the ratio of the amount outstanding at the end of each year to the permanent stock, the other is the ratio of the cash taken in each year to the permanent stock. These two items we have for the years 1883 to 1900, inclusive. The largest figure in each series is for the year 1883. Upon this figure as a base has been calculated the percentage of decrease of each series each year. The percentage of decrease of the ratio of the amount outstanding to the permanent stock is represented,

in Chart XV, by the dash curve, while the dotted curve represents the percentage of decrease of the ratio of the cash re-

CHART XV.



ceived to the permanent stock. Both curves are based on the figures at the right. The unbroken curve is the hop curve and is based on the figures at the left. The point to be noted is not

that the amount outstanding increases in prosperous years, nor that the cash received increases in prosperous years, but that the increase of the former is proportionately greater than that of the latter. In 1890, for instance, the amount outstanding increased twenty-five per cent, while the cash received increased only ten per cent. The proportion of the amount outstanding to the cash taken in tends not only to increase in prosperous periods, but also to diminish in periods of depression. For instance, in 1895-96 the decline of the dash curve is forty-six per cent, while that of the dotted curve is only eighteen per cent. Our general conclusion is that the reckless purchase of goods on credit tends to increase and decrease with the fluctuation in the condition of the hop industry.

Recklessness is, however, a first stage in the development of shrewdness. The extremely reckless farmers were ruined and forced to emigrate; the shrewd farmers became successful speculators, and those who lacked shrewdness, but escaped ruin, remained, thereafter, more moderate in their activity. In the second period of prosperity the farmer did not put all his arable land under hops, preferring a varied agriculture with the certainty of a smaller profit to the exclusive cultivation of hops with the chance of great profits alternating with great losses. He spent less time on the village streets or in the saloon talking about his prospects and more time working on his farm. In selling his crops he was satisfied with a more moderate profit, and took a smaller part of the profits in the form of consumers' goods. He was less reckless and more shrewd in his departure from the old-time customs of persistence and frugality.

We take up, now, the study of the organized activity of the farmers of Blanktown during our period. As lack of shrewdness characterizes the Blanktownsmen, individually, so their associated activity is marked by inefficiency. For some years prior to 1875 there was, in Blanktown, a farmers' club which met weekly for the discussion of agricultural topics. As hop raising became the all-important industry, in-

terest in the discussion of methods and processes waned. After 1880, the meetings were devoted less to practical discussion and more to music and other conviviality, and, before 1887, the club had ceased to exist. In 1888, the farmers of Blanktown joined with surrounding towns in an organization devoted to the study of agricultural topics under the direction of state lecturers. The exercises of each meeting consisted of music and the reading of papers. The discussion which followed the reading of each paper was less animated than that of the old-time farmers' club, consisting of remarks by men who were strangers or mere acquaintances rather than of hard-headed give-and-take between old neighbors. The meetings were held successively in the different towns represented in the association. Prior to the meeting, the most attractive farm in the vicinity was placed on exhibition, and visiting farmers were "shown around" by their hosts. Thus, the inter-town organization was characterized by display and deference rather than by the frankness of the town organization. The interest which gave rise to it was of short duration, and, after 1890, meetings ceased to be held.

The history of these farmers' clubs reflects the general trend of economic development during the second period, namely, a general falling off in efficiency following periods of prosperity, due to the relaxation from industrious habits and the great increase of consumers' as compared with capital goods. The period of depression, 1895-96, and the decadence of the hop industry caused a great reduction in the hop acreage. In 1898, the acreage of the town had been reduced at least one-half, and over one-third of the farmers had gone out of the business entirely. The result was a great increase in the importance of the dairy industry. A large part of the milk produced by Blanktown is sold to companies who supply the New York city market. In 1898, owing to the low price paid for milk, there was much discontent, not only among the farmers of Blanktown, but also throughout the entire district in this and other states which supplied the New York market. The result

was the formation of an association of the milk producers of five states for the purpose of selling their milk, in New York, directly to the consumers, through their own agents. When this project was presented by the officers of the association to the farmers of Blanktown, at a meeting in September, 1898, seventeen of the leading farmers joined the association, the membership fee being one dollar. At this stage, the scheme was merely a project, no arrangements for independently disposing of the milk having been made. At a meeting held some weeks later, when it was understood that arrangements had been made for distributing the milk, forty-one other farmers joined the association. These were largely the less intelligent farmers who acted in imitation of those who had joined at the previous meeting or who had "held off," not daring to incur the displeasure of the company to whom they were selling their milk until they were sure the new scheme was "a go." However, there was some further delay in the association's taking over the milk, and when, at the beginning of the second year, the farmers were asked to renew their membership, only thirty-eight of the forty-nine members responded. This loss of interest extended throughout the five states so that the project finally "fell through."

The chief reason for the decrease of interest among the farmers of Blanktown was that their cooperation was impulsive rather than intelligent. A metropolitan journal of commerce gave the situation as follows: "The Consolidated Milk Exchange, which really is a trust, is responsible for the attitude of the farmers. Instead of making contracts with the producers, they arbitrarily make prices . . . and we do not wonder that the farmers are kicking." Whether or not this was true, it was the way the farmers understood the situation. They were full of fight at first, but their anger against the trust cooled as time went on, without arrangements being perfected for independently disposing of their milk, and when, at the end of the first year, they were asked to renew their

membership, they declared the association "wouldn't get another dollar out of" them. This change was due, partly, to a growing distrust of their leaders. They believed nothing was being done because the leaders had been "bought off" by the trust. The reasons for the decline of interest in the scheme were, then, first, a lack of an intelligent understanding of the time necessary in an enterprise of such magnitude to "get things in running order"; secondly, a lack of that intimate association necessary to ensure that personal contact which alone can keep up an impulsive interest.

An attempt of the farmers to form a joint stock creamery company was also a failure. The company was formed and a creamery was erected and opened for business. But when the company, which had been purchasing the town's milk product, raised the price paid for milk, so that the farmers realized less profit by making butter at their creamery than by selling milk to the company, they left their creamery for the company in spite of the fact that butter making was very profitable. They could not withstand the temptation to grasp the little larger profit held out as a bait by the company. The creamery eventually passed into the hands of the company, who then paid the farmers for their milk "what price they d—— pleased." This second failure still further increased the farmers' distrust of each other, some of the largest producers being accused of withdrawing their milk from the creamery because "they had been bought by the company"; that is, given a little higher price for their milk than was paid generally in order to secure their patronage and so demoralize the movement to "stick to the creamery." The reason for the failure of the joint stock company project was, therefore, a lack of the intelligence necessary to hold the patrons of the creamery true to their own concern at the time when the competing company raised the price paid for milk. This lack of intelligence is, more particularly, a lack of intelligent appreciation of identity of interest, the same fatal defect which, as was shown in the preceding chapter, is the cause of the growing laxity in the

observance of law. Instead of the old-time fellow-feeling resting on identity of interest (Part I, Chapter IV), we find mutual distrust.

The farmers of Blanktown are now firmly persuaded that "somehow farmers can't stick together. You hold a dollar near enough to their eyes and it looks as big as the moon. They can't see anything else." The reason for this exclusive attention to the prosperity of the moment is that, in the absence of a feeling of identity of interest, the surviving individualism of the economy of independence has full sway. In the early days cooperation was unimportant as compared with individual effort. Every farmer was "lord of his little world" and "lived off his farm." His commercial activity consisted in taking a dozen eggs or half a hog "to town" and "turning it into cash" to pay for the few necessaries of life he could not produce or to add to his bank account. This narrow individualism still survives. The farmer of to-day is, like his forefathers, accustomed to "take care of his own pennies and let others take care of themselves." He is not used to thinking that the labor of others may contribute to his own productivity and his labor to the productivity of others. Hence, his inability to alter his activity in consideration of others' interests. As one farmer said: "The best way to do is to take your milk to no creamery and to no company, but to make your own butter in your own churn; then you're independent."

CHAPTER XIII.

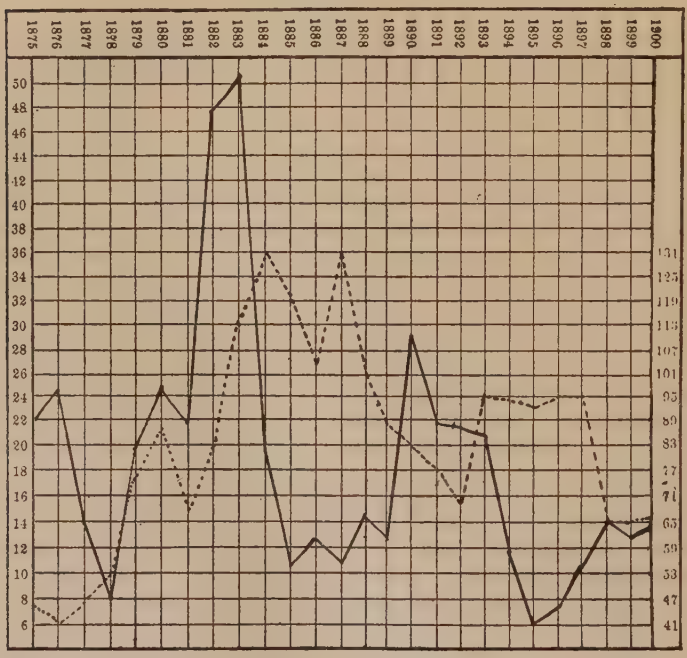
THE SOCIAL WELFARE: CULTURE: EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY.

The purpose of education, in the early days, was to enable the youth to play their part in the simple business relations of the neighborhood economy. To be able to read, write and cipher was to be an educated man. That the significance of the change from the economy of persistence to the economy of shrewdness is but imperfectly recognized in Blanktown, is evident from the fact that "practical" education—the ability to do rather than to think, is still emphasized. Thus, the prevailing tendency is to pooh at agricultural colleges on the ground that "a fellow may have any amount of book learning, but he can't make money at farming unless he has had experience." The value of technical education is sometimes admitted, but, of college education, seldom or never. For, the Blanktownsman can not be convinced of the necessity of a type of shrewdness that can adapt itself to changing as well as to fixed industrial conditions. College education, where it is approved, is approved not because it is regarded as "practical," but because it sometimes diverts a youth from self-indulgence, by arousing in him a desire to "be somebody," or because it imparts a literary polish and, thus, serves as an ornament for those who are to move in "cultured society." But, for the young man who must, first of all, make his way in the world, a college education is not regarded as practical. On no account should such a fellow go away to school, unless he first knows "what he is going to be," that is, unless he goes to acquire a technical education.

The education of the children and youth of Blanktown has been carried on in the rural district schools, in the Blankville high school, and in schools and colleges outside the town. Phases of educational activity which can be correlated with

our economic curve are the attendance of children from the rural neighborhoods at the Blankville high school, and the attendance of Blanktown students at schools and colleges. There are no statistics of the number of children from the rural districts who have attended the Blankville high school each year during our period. We know, however, the amount

CHART XVI.



paid in tuition fees each year to the high school by pupils from the rural districts.[1] As the tuition fee has remained the same, during our period, the increase or decrease of this amount will indicate a corresponding increase or decrease in the number of pupils. In Chart XVI, the dotted curve (based on the series of figures at the right) represents the per capita number of cents paid each year for tuition by the population of

[1] Records of the Treasurer of the Board of Education.

the rural districts. The rise of the dotted curve in the period of prosperity, 1879-84, is very marked. Its decline, after 1887, is due to the decrease in the number of children in the rural districts.

We turn, now, to the education of the youth of Blanktown at schools and colleges outside the town. Students attending school out of town may, for our purpose, be divided into three classes:

1. Students attending a degree-conferring college, university, or technical school.

2. Students attending a state normal school.

3. Students attending "finishing schools," military schools, academies and other schools of a similar character.

The number of Blanktown students in these schools from year to year,[1] is represented in Chart XVII. The dot and dash curve, the dash curve, and the dotted curve, are the college, the normal school, and the finishing school curves, respectively, and are based on the figures at the right.[2] With the exception of 1885, there is no marked rise in the college curve until 1888. This curve shows no immediate response to the period of prosperity. In order to enter a college, a student must have had four or five years of previous training. An increase in prosperity would immediately affect the number of college students only as it would enable one, already prepared, to enter college. The prosperity of 1879-84 affected the number of college students only as it encouraged parents to prepare their children for college and to save money for the purpose of eventually sending them. Thus, the effect of economic prosperity on college attendance was less immediate than its effect on sensational and emotionally ideational activity.

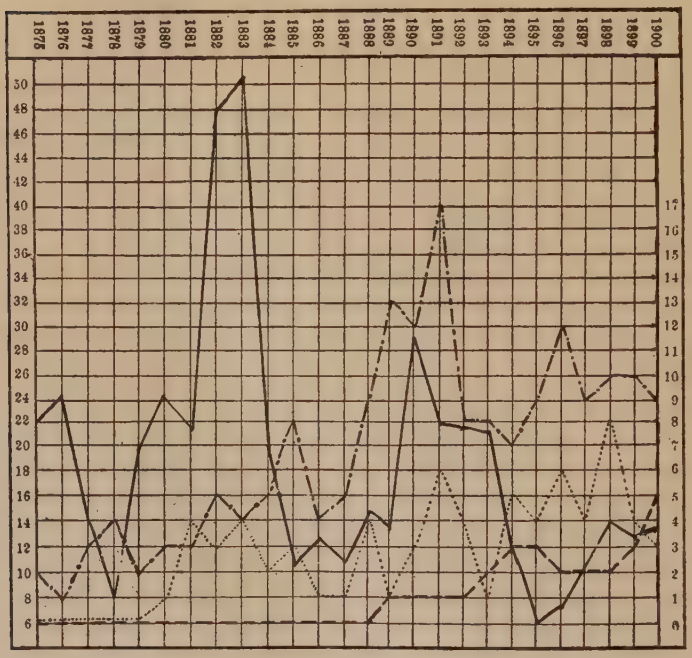
Attendance at finishing schools, military schools, academies,

[1] The number was obtained from personal testimony and from notices in the Blankville *Times* of students at home during vacation time.

[2] The strictly accurate method would be to use, as a base, the number of students in the social population of a proper age to attend college, normal school and other schools. But this number can not be ascertained.

and the like has been due, largely, to imitation of the college student.[1] Throughout our period, Blanktown has had one or more students in college and it has been considered a mark of social distinction for parents to have children "away at school." Hence, children not capable of undertaking a college course

CHART XVII.



were sent "away to school." We note the rise of the finishing school curve in 1881-83, entrance to a finishing school requiring no previous preparation. The curve rises still higher in 1891-1900, owing, partly, to the rise and hence the stronger imitative influence of the college curve during the later part

[1] During the entire period, the Blankville high school has prepared students for all colleges, so that it has not been necessary to go out of town for a college preparation.

of our period. The school curve shows no decline during the last decade, while the decline of the college curve is marked owing to the tendency of increasing emigration cityward to lower the grade of intelligence of the rural community. The rise of the normal school curve, in 1889-1900, is also due to an imitation of the college student, not so much from the desire for social distinction, however, as from a desire on the part of the poorer classes to give their children an education which should fit them to earn their living as teachers.

Both the individualistic and the social motives were influential in high school and college attendance, on the part of parents sending children as well as with the children themselves. We shall take up first the motives for sending children to town schools.

The individualistic motives: The purpose of education in Blanktown, has been discipline which should train children to work persistently rather than instruction which should teach them to think shrewdly. The school building is in accord with this stoic ideal of education. The school building, small, low-roofed, and weather-beaten, the one room furnished with a stove, desk and whittled benches, no books upon library shelf, few or no charts or maps upon the bare and scarcely weather-proof walls—this suggests little interest of the parents in a training other than that of self-denial. The district school seems to have been managed with the purpose, chiefly, of incurring the least possible expense in meeting the legal requirements for such schools.

The impulses of submission and domination: With the coming of prosperity, the district schools were not improved, but many children were sent to the Blankville high school. This does not mean that prosperity suddenly made parents conscious of greater intellectual needs on the part of their children than the district school could supply. Various reasons are given for sending children to the village school, chief of which is that the children may acquire the manners of village children and have village children for their play-

mates. This instinctive submission to the more impressive civilization of Blankville as compared with that of the rural districts was, perhaps, the chief motive for sending children to the village school. Another important motive was the impulse of domination. The rural parents hoped their children would take the school honors in contest with the village boys and girls, and thus not only raise their social status among their rural neighbors, but also gain them an entrance into village society. The main feature of the activity of the Blankville high school is the intense and often bitter rivalry for certain prizes, chief of which are a prize of twenty-five dollars awarded the member of the graduating class who wins the largest number of "counts," and four prizes, two of six and two of four dollars, awarded the first and second best boy and the first and second best girl speakers at the annual prize-speaking contest. The rivalry for the twenty-five dollar prize is most intense; around it eddies the under-current of school life during the entire year. The students grade each other in ability, according to their chances for winning the prize, calculated on the basis of the number of different subjects in which they have passed examinations. Students tend to elect those subjects which they can "pass off" most easily and, in this, are not discouraged by their parents or their teachers. Thus, a dominant motive in study is the impulse of domination by a display of "counts" and prizes. In this rivalry to make the greatest display, children are encouraged by their parents as well as by their teachers. When the chief contestants have been of different religious sects, as Protestant and Catholic, the rivalry has become bitter and the entire village has "taken sides."

The impulse of domination is evident, also, in the interest which centres in the prize-speaking contest. This is the most important event of the school year. So long as the speakers in this contest make a creditable showing, the people of the town are largely indifferent as to the work done in the courses of study; but, when a creditable showing is not made, the

school administration is unqualifiedly condemned. Thus, in 1893, when the contest was exceptionally poor, the principal of the school was denounced as incapable in the *Times,* and the standard of the school was declared to have declined under his administration, which was particularly irritating to the townsmen, in view of their frequent boast that their high school was one of the "leading" high schools in the state. These denunciations voiced the sentiment of the majority, and this in spite of the fact that it was publicly demonstrated that the work done in the courses of study during the administration of the principal was of an unusually high order. Thus was the work of the school judged entirely from the nature of its display on parade occasions. The controversy was embittered by the fact that the principal was a Baptist, a sect not in favor with the majority of the population. On this account, prejudice against him was easily aroused and rapidly spread until it assumed all the animosity of religious intolerance.

Education in out-of-town schools and colleges also shows the predominance of the dominating and submissive impulses over the individualistic motives and, also, over the social motives of sympathy and desire for recognition. The individualistic motive of mental restlessness, a thirst to know, has been influential with a few students, but the desire to be better fitted to make a living has been the chief individualistic motive. The motive of sympathy is seen in those parents to whom a knowledge of the great outside world had been denied, and who determined to give their children a better opportunity for acquiring knowledge than they had enjoyed. Some parents, also, sent their children to college, hoping that their studies would make them staunch defenders of the faith. Sectarianism has had great influence in determining what school the boy or girl should attend. The desire for recognition, as a motive for college attendance, is seen in those cases where a boy has wanted to go to college in order to become like certain college graduates of his acquaintance.

Thus, the college attended has depended, to some degree, upon what colleges were represented in Blanktown by men who have won the admiration and sympathy of the youth, the current having been, at first, toward the smaller colleges, like Amherst and Williams, later toward the larger colleges, when these happened to be represented in the faculty of the high school. The change of the current from the smaller to the larger colleges is due, however, not only to a change in the colleges represented by the professional men of Blankville, but also to the impulse of domination, the Yale or Harvard student having a marked advantage over the Amherst student in the dispute as to which college is greatest. "A man will always stick up for his own college, no matter if it is so far in the backwoods that only the squirrels know just where it is. But you can't make others think that your little backwoods college is greater than the big time-honored one." In such disputes and in his dress, mannerisms and general conceit shown in vacation time, we detect the college man's dominating impulse. This, also, is a dominant motive of parents in sending their children to college. It is hoped that the children will take the honors, particularly the prizes in the oratorial contests, and so furnish the parents with notices for the village paper conducive to their stronger social domination. The drift to the larger colleges is due, in part, to the greater distinction accorded parents whose sons are in Yale or Harvard. "Yale is so much harder than Amherst" that an exploit by a Yale boy creates a greater impression among the members of the parents' social circle than does a similar exploit by an Amherst boy.

Finally, we note the influence of the motive of submission. Going "away to school" has become a fad; in some cases, an impulsive imitation of outside influence, in other cases, an imitation of those first Blanktown college students, and of some, later, who went to college "for business." Like many other fads, it has swept over the town until "people are coming to think that a boy or girl can't learn anything any longer

at home." This impulsive submission to the prevailing social movement for higher education, together with the social domination enjoyed by parents who or whose children are conspicuous in this movement, largely explains the increase of out-of-town school and college attendance during our period.

No more significant indication of the change between the educational ideals of the first and second periods could be found than is furnished by the change in the popular notion of the function of the teacher. In the earlier period the teacher must make the boy mind; in the later she must make him learn. The Board of Education charge the teacher to hold up the examination before the student; use it to inspire fear in the dull pupil, to kindle rivalry for high marks in the "smart one." The idea that a student should be encouraged to do a thing right just for the satisfaction of doing it right, is unheard of. If urged as a principle of method, it is condemned as all right in theory, but without efficacy in practice. Not only "the board," but also the parents in general hold the teacher responsible for making their children learn. This is in marked contrast to the early period. Then the teacher was required only to keep good order, and she was not left unaided in doing this, for the boy who was whipped in school "got another when he went home." Much less was the teacher expected to make the child learn. The mother who was solicitous about her boy's progress took the matter in hand herself and drilled the three R's into him until he had something which "stood by him the rest of his days." In the second period, however, she is too busy with church work or social life or the study of "antiquities" to look after her child's education. She leaves this to the public school teacher. It is "her business." For the child's lack of progress the teacher is called to account. The system of state examinations for public school pupils is defended on the ground that the teacher "wouldn't drill the pupil conscientiously" if the examinations were made out by herself. The state examination is the big stick held over the teacher to compel her to do what should

be done in the home by the parents. State examinations are excused on the ground that they take the examining out of the teacher's hands and so prevent her from "using partiality"; it is not seen that they also take out of the teacher's hand that power of initiative which alone can make her an inspiring teacher. But the real reason state examinations are upheld is that they act as a menace to both teacher and student and so enable the parent to shirk that primary disciplining duty which the parent of the first period would have scorned to shirk and would have resented being usurped by an "outsider." The principle of efficiency—do this right for the sake of doing it right—will not replace, in education, the impulse of display—do this right for the sake of the prize and the praise—until the home resumes its supreme place in child-training.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE: CULTURE: RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY.

The chief characteristic of the religious activity of Blanktown during its entire history has been its denunciation of worldliness; its important doctrine, the gospel of self-denial. The reason for the decreasing importance of religion in the second period (Chapter VIII) is that, when self-denial was no longer an economic necessity, the church continued to preach self-denial, instead of meeting the reaction from self-denial to self-indulgence with an ideal of life which would inhibit extreme without opposing all self-indulgence.

In the first period religion was the guardian angel of custom. Its guardianship extended over all customs, economic as well as religious. The minister spoke out against dishonesty as well as against Sabbath desecration, and an individual guilty of one was "churched" as summarily as if guilty of the other. Both were customs and, as such, sanctioned by religion. The growing importance of shrewdness and self-indulgence in the second period gradually discredited the customary life of the community, the customs of which were derivatives from and contributory to the maintenance of the cardinal customs of persistence and self-denial. The church's attitude to the customary life became less straightforward and more hesitant. One custom after another, once sanctioned by religion, was relegated to the category of "secular" and, as such, "outside the sphere of religion." As far as can be ascertained, no clergyman during the second period has preached against two of the most flagrant and increasingly prevalent violations of the old-time customary life, dishonesty and immorality. Sermons against dancing, card and billiard playing, theatre going and liquor-drinking became more and more rare toward the close of the second period, until they have ceased altogether. Thus, the

church has narrowed its practical activity as the old-time customary life of the community has passed away. The one practical topic now sermonized upon is the one custom still generally observed by the community, namely, Sabbath observance by abstinence from work and attendance at church. Aside from this sermons are purely abstract or moralizing. Instead of raising the standard of a new social life, in striving to realize which the new individualistic motives of sense of power of shrewdness, sense of wealth power and desire for self-indulgence shall be socialized, the church has stamped all discussion of such standards as secular and contented itself with reaffirming and moralizing upon the abstract principle of self-denial.

In order to understand more fully the relation of religion to social custom, a deeper analysis of the nature of the religious sanction is necessary. The chief individualistic motive of the first period was the sense of need of physical comfort—food, clothing and shelter. The chief economic fact was dependence on the forces of external nature for the satisfaction of these needs. The forces of nature were apprehended in two ways, as natural sequence and as the expression of arbitrary will. Each of these conceptions regulated economic life.

1. Natural sequence: This was simply the inference that things alike in one respect are alike in all. Thus, the superstition that if a hog is killed in the "ole of the moon" the pork will shrink in the barrel was widespread in the early period and is by no means extinct to-day. That is, from the fact that the making of the pork occurred in a like time with the ole of the moon, it was inferred that the pork would be like the moon in other qualities, among them the quality of shrinking. Numberless inferences of sequence, some of them as useless as this one, some of them of great utility, and all of them the germs of a growing conception of natural law, have regulated economic life in Blanktown during its entire history.

2. Arbitrary will: Many natural phenomena were, plainly

not natural sequences. An unusually early or late frost, an unusually wet or dry season, had no preceding phenomena which they invariably followed. They could not be foreseen as could the shrinking of pork which had been killed in the ole of the moon. However, the mental habit of inference again supplied the interpretation. Just as man's conduct, in this and that event, could not be foreseen, so nature was, at certain times, impulsive and arbitrary. The Blanktownsman's belief in an arbitrary will behind nature was not acquired by conscious inference. It was a process of his subconsciousness, a bit of tradition wrought into him at birth and of the psychological explanation of which he was no more conscious than of the physiological explanation of his preference for fried meat. Of the fact of its existence and the explanation thereof we have abundant evidence, however, as will be shown below. The fundamental and contradictory character of the two theories of natural sequence and arbitrary will comes out repeatedly in religious discussions between old residents. The discussion often reduces itself to the question whether God could do this or whether He couldn't, being at that point subservient to natural law. Some of the most heated invectives of the minister were against those who heeded superstitions instead of depending on a "bountiful Providence," and against those infidels who preached the supremacy of natural law as against "interventions of Divine Providence."

Belief in arbitrary will gained strong support from the patriarchal character of the family life of early Blanktown. The children were taught to obey their parents implicitly and the wife to yield to her husband in all cases of difference of opinion. The father ruled his family rigorously, often harshly, priding himself on the amount of work his wife could do and the amount he could "get out of" his boys. His rule was not only hard, but arbitrary. He did not scruple at breaking promises to his children when he might profit thereby. In one case, a father promised his boy an afternoon off if he would do his day's "stint of work" in the forenoon. The

stint was finished before noon, but the boy was forced to work all the afternoon. The child thus came to feel that his pleasures and pains depended on the arbitrary will of a ruler rather than on his own efforts. In the case of the boy who was compelled to work during the afternoon which he had been looking forward to as a holiday, the pain of that work was associated with the hard glint of the father's eyes, the "set" expression of his jaws, and, perhaps, with the blow with which he told him to go to work and not talk about a holiday in the busy season. This emotional expression of the father was so often associated with painful states, that it habitually aroused a feeling of pain even when not followed by a blow or other painful sequence. That is, the father's face aroused fear in the child. The fear of the father often was habitual, for the father often was a "stern man." Under its influence, the boy regarded every new or unexpected mood of his father with apprehension until it became clear whether or not the new mood foreboded pain. When he got up in the morning he wondered whether father would be "grouty" today, and kept out of the way until his parent's humor became apparent. That is, his fear of father inhibited his ordinary activity until that fear was dispelled by an emotional expression of good nature. Now, the religion of Blanktown was simply this fearful attitude of boy to father directed toward the arbitrarily wilful natural forces. Fearful or pain-producing natural phenomena, such as storms, droughts, or hard winters, were felt to be manifestations of God's anger. A man, irreligious at other times, dared not blaspheme during a thunder-storm. Not only at such times, but also in unfavorable seasons, there was an increase of religious fear, such a season being regarded as a judgment upon levity, that is, as a manifestation of the vengeance of an angry God. Sunday was a day when the population, thus dependent for their livelihood on God's good humor, endeavored to win his favor for the coming week by remaining in doors out of his sight, as it were, abstaining from daily work and keeping still until his ill-

humor, if, perchance, he were ill-humored, should have passed and his favor be assured. Thus, the fear of God inhibited daily work on Sunday. God would be pleased with this manifestation of fear and would be beneficent during the week.[1]

Having explained the significance of the essential fact in Blanktown's early religious activity, the observance of the Sabbath by abstinence from work, we shall now recall certain aspects of that activity which show Sabbath-observance to have been the essential fact and which show that its motive was an instinctive desire to gain the help of Divine Providence in productive activity. The predominance of Sabbath-observance by abstinence from work, in early religious activity, is evident from several facts given in Part I, Chapter V.

1. The entire population of early Blanktown abstained from work on the Sabbath. A man would as soon have thought of breaking the civil law as of working on Sunday. But, only a small percentage of the population were church-members, though a large part attended church. The chief social requirement was that a man should abstain from work on the Sabbath. Thus, the instinct of fear and not ideational enthusiasm was the characteristic religious trait.

2. The relative unimportance of interest in doctrine is evident, also, from the fact that there was no feeling of bitterness between different Protestant sects. Further, the feeling between Catholics and Protestants was due to the American prejudice against the Irish nationality rather than to a no-popery sentiment. The strongest feeling of religious difference was that between the Christian and the infidel, the infidel being the man who, preaching the supremacy of natural law, dared to work on Sunday. A man might not be a member of a church, might not attend church, might, in fact, be an infidel of the imaginary type (Chapter V) and inclined to the Unitarian or spiritualistic belief, and not incur the ire of his neigh-

[1] This religious fear being, as we have said, instinctive and subconscious, as instinctive as the fearful attitude of the child to the father, it follows that those under its influence can not understand, that is, be conscious of its significance as we have here endeavored to explain it.

bors. It was against the infidel who fearlessly worked on Sunday that the social abhorrence of the community was directed. Such an awful sin was a "slap in the face of the Almighty" and destined to bring speedy vengeance.[1]

3. The lack of sweeping revivals considered in connection with the frequent and bitter quarrels in the church, never over questions of doctrine, but always over secular matters, such as a line-fence dispute, show an instinctive rather than an ideational type of mind.[2]

4. The weakness of the ideational element in religion is evident in the futile attempt to carry the total-abstinence idea to its logical conclusion and forbid church members to raise hops on the ground that hops were used in the manufacture of beer. The Baptist and Presbyterian churches adopted resolutions excluding from membership all persons who should engage in the cultivation of hops (Part I, Chapter V). Before 1875, however, these resolutions had become dead letters, and, since that time, only two farmers of Blanktown have abstained from the cultivation of hops on religious grounds. Thus, in the religion of Blanktown, interest in doctrine was relatively weak, observance of the Sabbath rigid and universal.

We turn, now, to another important element in early religion, that element which was mentioned at the beginning of the present chapter, namely, the gospel of unworldliness or self-

[1] That the observance of the Sabbath by abstinence from work was a matter of superstition, pure and simple, and not a distinctive attribute of Christianity, is evident from a study of individual minds. Thus one man who avowed there was nothing true in Christianity, who had nothing to do with churches, and who said the New York *Tribune* was his Bible, observed Sunday by strict abstinence from work, and has been known to view with fearfulness violations of the Sabbath by work or recreation. He once noticed two men fishing on Sunday, and with an almost horror-stricken tone remarked: "My goodness, see those fellows fishing on Sunday!"

[2] A "split in the church" is, in the words of an old resident, "prevented in two ways. If you have some wealthy members, they run things and the rest have to take a back seat. If you have some good members, they are doing good instead of quarreling and put the rest to shame." Both philanthropic work and the domination of wealth being lacking in the first period, there was nothing to inhibit quarreling.

denial. Unworldliness was emphasized as that conduct which would win the favor of God and secure his beneficent intervention in economic affairs. This relation of religious fear to social custom is evident in the social requirements of the minister. The function of the minister was twofold: to secure the "special help of Divine Providence" and to exemplify in his words and conduct the spirit of unworldliness. Taking up the second function first, we note that society demanded evidence of the minister's unworldliness in his personal appearance. His black apparel, dignified mien and rigid facial expression were marks of self-restraint. He was expected to preach unworldliness and to practice what he preached. His preaching consisted of injunctions to abstain from forms of pleasure which might lead to such excessive self-indulgence as would weaken the power of persistence, as, for instance, dancing and liquor-drinking. These forms of pleasure were condemned, however, as wrong in themselves, as sinful as those excessive forms of indulgence to which they might lead. Commercial enterprises, also, were occasionally denounced from the pulpit as full of temptations to dishonesty. A minister was once dismissed for holding stock in a cotton factory; so early do we see the beginning of a conflict between the economy of generous-honest cooperation and the economy of shrewdness and written contract. Thus, in personal appearance, preaching and conduct, the minister exemplified the religious doctrine of unworldliness. He was required to do this because, as intercessor between God and man, he must perfectly exemplify the conduct which God approved; else his efforts to avert the anger and secure the favor of God would be futile. As one who stood thus near to God, the minister was regarded with awe. A call from the minister was a solemn occasion. He was jealously required to visit all families impartially, for his visits had an important social significance: the fact that the minister called upon and prayed with a family was a proof that that family was observing those requirements of unworldliness, in virtue of which they might invoke and expect the favor

of God. Thus, a pastoral call signified to the community that the family visited recognized the principle of self-denial and observed the customs of the community based thereon; in short, that the family were good citizens. On the other hand, the minister was expected *not* to visit such families as failed to live up to the standard of unworldliness. He was required *not* to eat and drink with the drunken, both because such conduct would cast a suspicion of worldliness upon him and, more especially, because it would involve a social approval of individuals undeserving of approval.

Unworldliness was adhered to in the same spirit as a present is given to an individual whose favor is desired: the minister's intercessions for the beneficent intervention of Divine Providence would be successful in proportion as his presence and conduct were "well-pleasing" to God. Divine aid was sought for in those exigencies in which the individual was powerless, as in cases of sickness which baffled the physicians' skill, and in times of unfavorable weather, as drought or incessant rain. It is recorded that the minister was once urged to "be more earnest at the throne of grace that the seasons be ordered in mercy." Money as well as display of self-denial was used to gain supernatural aid. Thus one man gave as his reason for increasing his contributions to the church that every time he had increased his contributions in the past, "the Lord had prospered him." We now see why fear of an arbitrary God, and the various observances to secure his favor, of which Sabbath observance by abstaining from work was the chief, obtained so generally. The reason is that this fear was selected for its function in sanctioning the observance of those customs of self-denial which, when the fit individual was the persistent one, were the conditions of selection. The fact that a man abstained from work on the Sabbath was a proof, to his neighbors, that he had the fearfulness necessary to induce a submissive attitude to social custom in general.[1] Conversely a man's

[1] This was the essential but not the sole element in the fitness of the observance of the Sabbath by abstinence from work. Among other reasons for its selection was the physical benefit of an interval of rest.

violations of the Sabbath irritated his neighbors as signifying a general disposition to disregard social usages. Thus, people who disbelieved Christian doctrines and scoffed at churchgoers still insisted on abstinence from work on the Sabbath. One such individual was heard to exclaim, on seeing two strangers fishing on Sunday, "My goodness! see those men fishing on Sunday; they must be *unruly* fellows," meaning, by unruly, habitually defiant of social customs.

Having now a clear idea of the nature of the religious life of the first period, we can understand why, in the second period, religion decreased in importance. In a world economy, the individual is no longer directly dependent on nature for the satisfaction of need. Need is satisfied from an income which accrues independently of the season, favorable or unfavorable. Hence, the arbitrary power behind nature, which may or may not grant a favorable season, is coming to be no longer feared. Further, self-denial has become less necessary, and religion, as a sanction of self-denial, has decreased in importance. In short, as a sanction of custom, religious fear is no longer useful; with the passing of direct dependence upon nature and the development of shrewdness in reaction to a world economy, it is no longer possible. Neither useful nor possible, it is gradually becoming obsolete.

These economic changes reacted, also, on family relations, tending to alleviate the father's domination of the children and the children's fear of the father. Being no longer in direct contact with nature, the help of sons was no longer needed. Domination has survived, however, as seen in the oft-repeated question, "What are you going to make of your boy?" The father often attempts to decide his son's vocation for him, though his domination is no longer habitual or absolute, as is

Owing to the general prevalence of hard physical labor, the most restful way to keep Sunday was to be quiet in the house. This survives to-day as seen in the social impatience with a neighbor who is too noisy or too much on the street on Sunday. Owing to the increasing work done indoors, however, the population is more and more inclined to be outdoors on Sunday and is growing more and more restless under the old-time restraint.

evident from the fact that the "coming of age" no longer marks so changed a relationship as in the early days when the twenty-first birthday was regarded as the boy's independence day. In the second period, the father was no longer habitually strenuous through struggle with nature, but absorbed in business interests which his son could not understand, or in pleasures in which his son could not join. Hence, his aspect was no longer fearful nor his rule painful. Instead of suffering the pain of work, the boy enjoyed the pleasure of spending his allowance. Parents endeavored to inhibit excessive indulgence by arousing the boy's desire to make something of himself rather than by punishment and by arousing religious fear. The pampering or the education of children according as the parent is self-indulgent or intellectual, has replaced the early régime of domination. Thus, the child's early training in fearfulness is tending to become a thing of the past.

Turning now to our analysis of the religious activity of the second period, we find that the disquieting effect of the new conditions of a world economy upon customary activity and religious interest was noticed early by clergymen and religious people generally. Particularly demoralizing was the hop industry with its peculiarly strong speculative features. The speculative and reckless class of farmers have tended to be irreligious or, at least, unorthodox, from the days of the horse-traders of T——town (afterward, M—— Road), "one day howling Methodists and the next blaspheming backsliders," to the days of the reckless hop speculators.[1] The unorthodox class has assumed toward the orthodox an attitude of habitual defiance, answering the latter's threats of eternal punishment with the declaration that "all men will be saved." On this

[1] The correlation between a love of speculation and erratic religious ideas has been popularly noticed since the early days of the first period when the stern, unemotional Sabbath-observers spoke of the horse-traders of T——town as "one minute seeing who could get the drunkest, and the next minute seeing who could praise the Lord the loudest." That the spread of the speculative temper in the second period did not result in this simple rhythmic oscillation from excessive conviviality to excessive religious ecstacy is due to the greater variety of activity, work and pleasure afforded by the change to a world economy.

account, they have been known, generally, as Universalists. This irreligious spirit, thus closely connected with hop raising, has been ascribed by clergymen to "the work of the devil." Hop raising, being subsidiary to the liquor business is "the devil's own business" and those who take part therein are "in league with Satan." Laymen who have felt the effects of hop raising have a truer idea of the cause of the trouble. Some of them, alarmed at the disturbing effect of the fascination involved in attempting to grasp the "top price," were glad to return to a varied agriculture and to exchange the worry of a large but irregular for the certainty of a regular but smaller profit, the latter being more conducive to the calm of a "Christian walk and conversation."

The religious activity of Blanktown, during the second period, presents two phases, a survival of the old-time religious fear, the function of which is the sanction of the customary life, and a phase with a function comparatively new. Both are evident in the prevailing method of Sunday observance. The Sabbath is still observed by strict abstinence from work. Not only has there never been an attempt to have Sunday base-ball, golf or horse-racing, in Blanktown, but such a movement never has been seriously agitated. Children are very rarely allowed to coast or to throw and catch a ball on Sunday. The card or dancing party scrupulously comes to an end before midnight on Saturday. At the club, special pains is taken to finish a game of billiards before twelve o'clock on Saturday night, and this by young men who never attend church. Sunday is observed not only by abstinence from work, but also by church-attendance. Individuals who go to an extreme of self-indulgence during the six days observe a strict abstinence therefrom on the seventh and attend church, using Sunday to display before the assembled citizens their disposition to submit to the requirements of social propriety. Thus, as in the first period, Sabbath observance serves as a testimony, on the part of each citizen, to his submission to the canons of social propriety. It is a sign of *respectability,* that is, a sign

of that fearful state, under the influence of which the individual submits to the socially approved customs of self-denial. In virtue of this submission, he is *respected* by the community. Thus, in the second period has survived the sanctioning function of religion.

Owing to the fact that church membership is a sign of respectability, there has been no decrease, in the second period, in the proportion of the population included in the membership of the churches (Part I, Chapter V). The greater formality of church activity, however, is evident from the change of policy regarding the admission of children to membership. In the first period, it was held that only adults should be admitted to church membership, for only they understood the significance of such membership. In the second period, children were urged by the minister to join the church without his making any effort to explain the significance of such a step. The policy of admitting children was probably imitated from the Episcopal Church, and was adopted by the Presbyterians in 1883, and by the Methodists and Baptists in 1886 and 1887.

Thus, in the second period as in the first, church attendance served as a sign of submission to the customary life of the community. In the later period, however, we find another motive for church attendance, namely, a desire for display. The church service gives all citizens an opportunity to meet each other and to receive that submission due each according to his wealth or business ability or standing in the educational world. Witness the display of costumes and the desire to attend the fashionable church which is characteristic of the second period. The rivalry of different churches for the position of "the fashionable church" is evident in rivalry of church choirs and church furnishing committees. The Presbyterian church early attained the distinction of "the fashionable church," as is evident from the fact that, when the new church edifice was completed, in 1873, and the auction of sittings was opened, the strife for the "chief seats in the syna-

gogue" was so animated that the President of the village was obliged to pay $100 for the first choice, in addition to a high rental, while the second choice went for $40 and the third for $30. Thus the motive of church attendance, in many cases, was the desire to attain social domination by the display of wealth power rather than to show submission to social customs of self-denial.

The difference between the religion of the first and of the second periods is best illustrated by the difference in the preferred type of minister. The minister of the early days must, in his personal appearance, walk and conversation, as we have seen, be a perfect example of self-denial. The successful minister of the later period was the handsome, well-dressed, sociable man who had traveled extensively, read widely and could be entertaining at all times, in sermons as well as in social functions. Thus, the general tendency of the religious activity of Blanktown has been away from religious fear. Of the two motives of church attendance, in the first period, desire to secure the favor of God and desire to show respect for and submission to the customary life of the community, the former has become relatively unimportant, leaving the desire for respectability as the sole survival of early religious activity. Desire to secure the favor of God has given place to desire to secure the favor of man by display of those factors determining social status. The above interpretation of the religion of Blanktown will be termed unfeeling and, at best, only half true. This it is and for the reason that prolonged field study is necessary in order to get at the essential elements in the religious feelings of the people. In the second volume it will be shown that, though forms of worship and the character of sermons may change, though the conduct of worshipers may change, yet true religion still lives in the hearts of the people and, under favorable conditions, will manifest itself.

Having now finished our survey of the sociological development of Blanktown, the question arises, can we discern through

it all anything which will give us a clew as to fundamental processes. In the following chapter I shall suggest some principles of interpretation, which, though not conclusive, furnish a working hypothesis which will bring to a focus some important points to bear in mind in field study.

CHAPTER XV.

SOCIAL SELECTION: INDUSTRIAL AND SYMPATHETIC SELECTION.

The population of Blanktown has given no evidence of the working of a process of natural selection. There has been no "perishing" of the "unfit." No matter how worthless the individual, he has not been allowed to starve. And not only this, but, in cases of need, he has been given the food, clothing and medical aid necessary to keep him economically efficient. From first to last, Blanktown has been, with reference to the struggle for existence, one group, in which the survival of each and every individual has been, from the mere fact of his or her living within the territory of the group, a practically assured fact.[1]

I have heard of no inhabitant of Blanktown who, when in his or her normal mood, that is, not in a mood of intense hatred and not "holding a grudge," would not "stint" himself or herself to save another from starvation or bitter exposure. To be sure, the "pride" which might prevent needy individuals from asking aid of any person excepting relatives or friends, even to save life, is widespread. The origin of this impulse is not revealed by a study of the population past or present. It may be an instinctive impulse inherited from that stage of society when a population was made up of clans in relentless warfare, in which the attitude of each individual to members of all other clans or tribes was one of instinctive attack. In such a state of social organization, the muscles of the body and the whole mental attitude toward outsiders would be so "set" in habitual defiance that hunger or exposure even unto death would not suffice

[1] Exceptions to this are the cases of serious criminals like the notorious L—— gang of outlaws, who for many years had their stronghold in the hills of M—— Road, until, on the night of June 17, 1866, it was stormed by a mob of enraged townsmen and the gang scattered in all directions.

to relax the defiant into a suppliant attitude. Almost as fierce a defiance as this, on the part of persons in want, is sometimes seen. If such a "proud-spirited" attitude persisted to the point where the unfortunate individual perished, we should, assuredly, have a case of the perishing of the unfit. I have not found a clear case of this sort in Blanktown. As has been shown, the population segregated in the form of groups of relatives and friends so that each family was so near another friendly family as to relieve all apprehension of extreme need; and, further, the universal compassion shown for a worthless, unknown tramp found dead in a barn, and the widespread expression of regret that "someone did not know about it in time," shows how utterly false would be any deductive application of the principle of natural selection to Blanktown.

The children are a strong medium through which the universal compassion works for the salvation of the poor. On the one hand, it is the children who arouse compassion: "The man may be a worthless sot, but we can't see his children suffer." On the other hand, they break down the proud spirit of the family suffering in secret. "I wouldn't ask it for myself, but my children have nothing to eat." These and other influences have brought it about that no families, Indian, negro or white, have, during the history of Blanktown, been subject to the operation of natural selection. A thorough discussion of this subject involves many details which can not be brought up here. Suffice it to say that these show that entirely different principles must be adduced for the explanation of social facts in Blanktown.

The first fact to be noted is that, while there is no struggle for *existence,* there is a struggle for social standing involving two distinct struggles,—first, a struggle for the wealth necessary to support the customary standard of living, secondly, a struggle for a larger social esteem. We turn now to an analysis of the struggle for wealth. In the first period, the Blanktownsman was engaged principally in the exploitation of natural resources. A chief economic activity was a direct attack upon

nature. An economic relation of prime importance was that of the individual to natural resources. Persistence in attack upon these depending upon muscular power and upon the mental power of concentrating it upon the resisting object until it gave way and depending also upon power of enduring heat, cold and hardship, was an important trait of character. But its importance lay in the fact that it was required for a good social standing, not in the fact that it was indispensable to physical existence. Those who lacked it entirely had sufficient food, clothing and shelter and as many children as did the enterprising farmer. There has been, therefore, strictly speaking, no struggle for existence in Blanktown. However, the struggle for wealth often has all the bitterness of a struggle for existence. The farmer's life is as anxious a one as if he were not practically beyond the possibility of starvation. He and his wife are uneasy until they have a "little pile laid by for a rainy day." But question them and you will see that it is fear of a loss of social standing involved in the disgrace of coming "on the town," not fear of perishing from starvation, that haunts them. We discard natural selection, therefore, and proceed in search of those principles which really explain the struggle to maintain or raise social standing.

Persistent individual effort has never been the sole condition of attaining the wealth necessary to social standing, nor the relation of the individual to natural resources the sole economic relation. Another important relation from the first has been cooperation, and honesty, necessary for successful cooperation, was, from the beginning, throughout the first period, indispensable to a good social standing. In the struggle for subsistence, honesty was a customary economic method which must not be violated. Industrial activity was, therefore, more than a struggle for wealth. It was a struggle for social preference, for the preference of the efficient man. The efficient man was the persistently honest man. Now, this process by which the persistently honest man became a select type in the struggle for wealth, we may call industrial selection.

We turn now to the second phase in the struggle for social standing, namely, the struggle for a larger social esteem. As we leave the sphere of industrial selection, we find a sort of intermediate zone in which there is a desire or set purpose—we can hardly call it a struggle—to live true to certain social requirements which are not so intimately related to industrial selection as is honesty, but of which the utility can, in some measure, be seen. Among the traits thus selected are courage, frugality, purity in private life, observance of law and the Sabbath. A farmer more readily cooperated with one who fulfilled the sum of these requirements of a good citizen than with one who did not. The desire to live true to the moral requirements of the community we may call a desire for social approval.

There is one more quality necessary to cooperation, namely, generosity. The neighbor with whom a farmer most readily cooperated was the generous neighbor. At first sight, however, it is difficult to see the utility of generosity *to the generous person.* Further, the mental state of generosity precludes the idea of utility. It is an impulse of helpfulness, not a desire for gain—and in no sense a struggle. We have passed into an entirely new domain, therefore, and must speak of aspiration, not struggle, for social esteem. This brings us face to face with an entirely separate sphere of activity which selected its own peculiar traits. The individual who most perfectly embodied these, in the early days, was the genial, jovial man whose face beamed with good will and who was in for anything on all festive occasions. This man need not have a great reputation for honesty. Thus, the old residents of Blanktown recall no one with greater pleasure than Tom K——, an Indian who used to get his meals from house to house. He had the faults of other Indians, deceitfulness and laziness, but the sound of his well-known voice always caused a "rush" of the "women folks to the back door;" for Tom's homely wit and sly humor were everywhere enjoyed. The man who relieved the monotony of work was prized, as well as the man who worked. The process by which the man who relieved the

monotony of work, became a selected type we may call sympathetic selection.

Turning now to the two selective processes in the second period, we find, first, that the relation of the individual to natural resources has become more indirect. In the first period, the individual picked the location of his house with reference to the fertility of the soil or the favorableness of the site for a mill or a store, while, in the second period, he located with reference to the group in which he was to work. From the rural districts into Blankville came those farmers who were mechanically skillful and better fitted to be mechanics, also those farmers who were shrewd and better fitted to be merchants or hop-brokers than tillers of the soil. Secondly, and more important still, we find that cooperative power now came to be determined less by honesty and more by sagacity in managing men. It is in the rural districts that honesty remains most strongly intrenched. This change from honesty to sagacity as the selected variation distinguishing the industrial type of the first from that of the second period marks a transition between two distinct phases of industrial selection.

The sympathetically selected type of the second period was also much different from that of the first. The jovial farmer was found to be "too noisy" on festive occasions—"haw-hawing so that you could hear him away out into the street." His jokes were declared too coarse, his stories and homely wit too slow. The social favorite was the "cultured" man, one of wide information and cleverness in conversation and with the means to entertain lavishly. With the sympathetic selection of the wealthy and the clever person there sprang up numerous forms of the display of wealth and reading clubs for the display of learning.

The essential difference between the pleasure activity of the first and second periods is this: in the first period the pleasures were more largely bodily—the hearty laugh, the hearty meal, the rustic dance in which the boy did not hold

the girl at arm's length and both "went into it for dear life," so that "the shouting and clatter drowned out the music;" in the second period, the pleasures were the "more refined" pleasures of the senses—the laugh was modulated and not a spontaneous guffaw, the tables were more tastefully decorated and less "loaded down," the dancers were more artistic in dress and step than exuberant in movement. This change from enjoyment of bodily pleasures to enjoyment of pleasures of the senses as the selected variation distinguishing the esteemed type of the first from that of the second period marks a transition between two distinct phases of social selection.

Sympathetic selection cooperated with industrial selection in the differentiation between the rural districts and Blankville, begun by industrial selection. In the first period, the geographical position of families was determined not only by industrial selection but also by a desire to be near relatives, friends or members of the same church. One man declared he moved into the Center out of P—— Valley "to get out of that ungodly community." In the second period sympathetic selection brought about a still further differentiation of the population. Blankville became a pleasure centre for the "cultured" from the rural districts[1] as well as a commercial centre for the mechanically skillful and the shrewd. In the rural districts, there remained those who still insisted upon self-denial and Sabbath observance. Hence the custom of sending a dissolute son "to the country" where he may not only be out of the reach of the whirl of pleasure but also under the influence of the insistence on self-denial.

Nothing shows more clearly the change between the industrially and the sympathetically selected types of the first and of the second periods than the change in the preferred type of minister. In the first period, that candidate was "called to the pastorate" of the church who was a "straightforward man,"

[1] This selective process reached beyond Blanktown. Thus the young women of the village chose as husbands young men "from the city," personally attractive, lavish in display of wealth, and with a good deal to say about their "fashionable connections," and the young men of the town led home "highly accomplished" young women.

erect in bearing, unequivocal in thought, frank even to bluntness in expression, consistent in thought and action. Consistency was a much extolled virtue. A "consistent Christian" was one who "never changed his mind," "stuck to his own church," no matter what the attractions elsewhere, and "practiced what he preached." Particularly in the minister was this directness in thought and utterance and conduct required. He must believe in "straight temperance" and "come out fair and square" for it. One must be a total abstainer or his influence was for drunkenness; he must be a Sabbath observer, if not, he was an infidel; he was bound for heaven or for hell. As an orator, that minister was enjoyed whose manner was direct, attitude tense, voice stentorian and gestures "straight from the shoulder." The minister must be powerful and direct, but that was not all. He must be a tender shepherd bearing in his great heart the troubles of all his flock and presenting these severally before the "throne of grace." It was this ready compassion which made him "powerful in prayer."

Turning now to the preferred type of minister in the second period, we find a marked change. It was the sagacious minister, who avoided "bones of contention," who came to be more and more sought after. To be sure, he must not play cards and dance himself; but it wouldn't do to come out too strongly against these amusements for others. The minister who had "traveled in Europe" and whose series of sermons on his travels showed that he "knew the history of all the places" he had visited, found himself the popular man of the town.

The question of the interaction of industrial and sympathetic selection is very complicated. We know that there is an interaction. The individual sympathetically selected tends to be industrially selected also, because sympathy is the safety valve which inhibits the individualistic motive at the point where it might otherwise go "below zero." When in need of "a lift," the farmer of the first period went to that neighbor who "was always ready to help," not to the "grouty" neighbor. The result was that the generous neighbor had a greater number

in his debt than the grouty neighbor, which gave him a broader cooperative basis and hence a greater readiness to ask for help when *he* was in a "tight pinch." In this way the generous man pressed persistence less near to the point of exhaustion, at critical times, and so tended to be a more constantly powerful industrial agent. The merchant who found that he was confining himself to his business to the point of prostration began to cultivate the acquaintance of men enjoying various kinds of pleasure, and found this acquaintanceship conducive to health. A man's individualism would devour him were it not for the relaxing effect of sympathy.

On the other hand, all play and no work makes Jack a mere toy. Blanktown has had its share of men wrecked in their desperate search for new pleasures when all they needed was work. The spread of nervous troubles among the female portion of the population, of card-playing crazes and other "frenzied" pleasures, is due to the lack of children to work for or to the advent of the nurse and the hired girl, thus throwing the housewife out of work.

The second volume will show that all true religion, all love of literature and art, and all philanthropic and public-spirited conduct are fundamentally complex forms of sympathy which tend to strengthen the individualistic powers. The enjoyment of these forms of sympathy will tend to keep the individual constantly at his highest industrial power, thus placing him at an advantage as compared with one whose full power may be greater than the full power of the broadly sympathetic man, but who, lacking the relaxation afforded by sympathy, is not so constantly at his full power. It will be shown, also, that zest for literature, religion and philanthropy is imparted by work. Man can not be at his full enjoying power without approximating to his full industrial power. Industrial and sympathetic selection are, therefore, distinct but interacting processes. Their distinctness is fundamental, extending away down to the physiological processes of the human body. These two processes determine the life of the individual and of the

race, the one process the activity of their working hours, the other the relaxation of their play hours.

Since we are to regard whatever struggle there is among the population of Blanktown as a struggle for social standing and not for existence, we can not use the phrase survival of the fittest. Just as it is convenient, however, to have the phrase survival of the fittest as another and more accurate phrase signifying the process of natural selection, so it is convenient to have other and more accurate terms for the processes of industrial and sympathetic selection. Accordingly, for industrial selection, I suggest the phrase *preference* as analagous to survival and *preferred* as analogous to fittest. We shall then have the preferred type as resulting from the process of preference. For sympathetic selection, I suggest the phrase *estimation* as analogous to survival and *esteemed* as analogous to fittest. We shall then have the esteemed type as resulting from the process of estimation. Whenever it is convenient to refer to the total selective process of human society without signifying either of its constituent processes or committing one self to a theory of their interaction, we may use the term *approved* type as resulting from the process of *approval.* This will be a convenient term to use as synonymous with social selection.

Finally, we need a set of terms to use for the total process as due to the interaction of the two distinct processes. The *best* are those highest in the classes both of the preferred *and* the esteemed. A perfect poise is the essential thing. Blanktown has men of great force with little sympathy and men of great sympathy with little force. Individuals with less force and greater sympathy than the former or with greater force and less sympathy than the latter are *better* than either of the unbalanced types. A man fairly well up in social status and well-poised, that is, one whom our President would call a "good citizen" may be said to be *chosen.* Hence, we have a final process, the choice of the good, better, or best, according to the social evaluation of the citizen in question.

We turn now to the problem of geographical distribution. The reader will remember that the immigrants into Blanktown entered at the northern end of the central valley and streamed southward. The majority of the immigrants during the first decade of the settlement did not stop in the central valley, fearing the "fever and ague" of the lowland, but pressed on into the hill country. When it was seen that the valley was not unhealthful, there were gradual rearrangements of the population, causing a segregation of different types of character somewhat as follows: Those of the persistent type who had settled in the hill country—formal in religion—sold their farms and came down to possess the more fertile lands, leaving the less persistent—visionary and ecstatic in religion—among the hills. The more persistent among the later immigrants settled on the more valuable lands in the valley and those dispossessed moved on into the less valuable hill country of southeastern Blanktown and into A——, the town to the south, a region even more hilly. Thus it is that the valley population, that is, the population of northern, western and central Blanktown, from which the social development of the town has received its stamp, has been predominantly persistent in activity and formal in religion.

One reason why the eastern and southeastern parts have had a comparatively small influence on the social development of the town is that their population has been more constantly changing; also, the foreign element there has been greater than elsewhere. In only one neighborhood of this section, namely, Blankwell, does the old-time ultra-religious population remain intact. As one inhabitant told a clergyman who was planning to conduct religious services there, "we have all kinds here." Blankwell has shown a marked susceptibility to new and strange doctrines. Between 1865 and 1875, spiritualism took root in the hamlet, making converts of four or five families. In 1899, Christian science sprouted there, regular Sunday services being attended by three or four families. Their Christian science is not of the radical sort, however, the beliefs

of that sect having gained credence as being in accordance with Scriptural tradition, not because of any active interest in their practical application in healing. Christian science is admitted to be scriptural but, in case of sickness, the doctor is called. Thus the Blankwell people lie geographically and sociologically between the ecstatically religious population of southeastern Blanktown and A—— on the one hand, and the austere Sabbath observers of northern, central and western Blanktown, on the other.

The total process of geographical distribution throughout Blanktown is, therefore, to be explained wholly by the very intricate interaction of the processes of industrial and sympathetic selection. Of the distributive process thus explainable, we distinguish two stages, first, the segregation of the persistent type in the valley, and secondly, the differentiation of these into the persistent, self-denying tillers of the soil and the skillful or shrewd, pleasure-loving industrial and commercial class who were finally segregated in Blankville. But the village owed its existence as an industrial and commercial centre to its strategic position on the stage-road connecting Blanktown with one of the great water systems of the country. Thus, the development of Blanktown is no exception to the great principle underlying all evolution—adaptation to the physical environment.

VITA.

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